

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS
IN
ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the KING's blessed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of May, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honorable

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High-Chancellor of England, Privy-Counsellor
in the Reigns of King CHARLES the First and the Second.

Κῆμα ἰς αἶψα. Thucyd.

Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

V O L. VI.

BASIL:

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M D C C X C V I I I.

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“ be forthwith restored to him.” To which the Committee answered, “ That the two Houses had made use of his Majesty’s own Revenue, but in a very small proportion, which in a good part had been employed in the maintenance of his Children, according to the allowance established by himself. Add the Houses would satisfy what should remain due to his Majesty of those Sums, which they had received; and would leave the same to him for the time to come. And they desired likewise, that his Majesty would restore, what had been taken for his use, upon any of the Bills assigned to other purposes by several Acts of Parliament, or out of the provision made for the War of *Ireland*: That all the Arms, and Ammunition taken out of his Magazines should be delivered into his Stores, and whatsoever should be wanting they would supply in kind, according to the Proportions they had received: but they proposed, the Persons, to whose charge those public Magazines should be committed, being nominated by his Majesty, might be such, as the two Houses of Parliament might Confide in, and that his Majesty would restore all such Arms and Ammunition, as had been taken for his use, from the several Counties, Cities, and Towns.

“ That the two Houses would remove the Garrisons out of all Towns, and Forts in their hands, wherein there were no Garrisons before these Troubles, and slight all Fortifications made since that time and those Towns, and Forts, to continue in the same condition they were in before;

“ and that those Garrisons should not be renewed,
“ or the Fortifications repaired without consent of
“ his Majesty, and both Houses of Parliament.
“ That the Towns, and Forts, which were within
“ the jurisdiction of the Cinque - Ports, should be
“ delivered into the hands of such a Noble Person,
“ as the King should appoint to be Warden of the
“ Cinque - Ports, being such a one as they should
“ Confide in. That *Portsmouth* should be reduced to
“ the number of the Garrison, as was at that time
“ when the Lords and Commons undertook the cus-
“ tody of it; and that all other Forts, Castles, and
“ Towns, in which Garrisons had been kept, and
“ had been since the beginning of these Troubles
“ taken into Their care, and custody, should be
“ reduced to the same establishment, they had in
“ the year 1636, and should be so continued; and
“ that all those Towns, Forts, and Castles, should
“ be delivered up into the hands of such Persons of
“ Quality, and Trust, to be likewise nominated
“ by his Majesty, as the two Houses should Confide
“ in. That the Warden of the Cinque Ports, and all
“ Governors, and Commanders of Towns, Castles,
“ and Forts, should keep the same Towns, Castles,
“ and Forts, respectively, for the Service of his Ma-
“ jesty, and the safety of the Kingdom; and that
“ they should not admit into them any Foreign
“ Forces, or any other Forces raised without his
“ Majesty's Authority, and Consent of the two
“ Houses of Parliament; and they should use their
“ utmost endeavour, to suppress all Forces what-
“ soever raised without such Authority, and

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“ Consent; and they should seize all Arms, and
“ Ammunition, provided for any such Forces.

“ They likewise proposed to the King that he
“ would remove the Garrison out of *New-Castle*, and
“ all other Towns, Castles, and Forts, where any
“ Garrisons had been placed by him since these
“ Troubles; and that the Fortifications might be
“ likewise slighted, and the Towns and Forts left in
“ such state as they were in the year 1636; and that
“ all other Towns and Castles in his hands, wherein
“ there had been formerly Garrisons, might be com-
“ mitted to such Persons nominated by him, as the
“ Houses should Confide in, and under such Instruc-
“ tions as were formerly mentioned; and that the
“ new Garrisons should not be renewed, or the For-
“ tifications repaired, without the consent of the
“ King and both Houses of Parliament. That the
“ Ships should be delivered into the charge of such
“ a Noble Person, as the King should nominate to
“ be Lord High-Admiral of *England*, and the two
“ Houses Confide in; who should receive that
“ Office by Letters-Patent, *quam diu se bene gesserit*,
“ and should have power to nominate, and appoint
“ all Subordinate Commanders and Officers, and
“ have all other powers appertaining to the Office
“ of High-Admiral; which Ships he should employ
“ for the defence of the Kingdom, against all Foreign
“ Forces whatsoever, and for the safeguard of Mer-
“ chants, securing of Trade; and the guarding of
“ *Ireland*, and the intercepting of all supplies to be
“ carried to the Rebels; and should use his utmost en-
“ deavours to suppress all Forces, which should be

“ raised by any Person without his Majesty’s Authority, and Consent of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, and should seize all Arms, and Ammunition, provided for supply of any such Forces.

To this Answer, by which they required at least to go whole Sharers with him in his Sovereignty, the King replied, “ That he knew not what proportion of his Revenue had been made use of by his two Houses, but he had reason to believe, if much of it had not been used, very much remained still in their hands; his whole Revenue being so stopped, and seized on, by the orders of one or both Houses, even to the taking of his Money out of his Exchequer, and Mint, and Bonds (forced from his Cofferer’s Clerk) for the Provisions of his Household; that very little had come to his use for his own support, but he would be well contented to allow whatsoever had been employed in the maintenance of his Children, and to receive the Arrears due to himself, and to be sure of his own for the future. He was likewise willing to restore all Monies taken for his use, by any Authority from him, upon any Bills assigned to other purposes, being assured he had received very little or nothing that way: and he expected likewise, that satisfaction should be made by them for all those several vast Sums, received, and diverted to other purposes, by orders of one or both Houses, which ought to have been paid by the Act of Pacification to his Subjects of *Scotland*, or employed for the discharge of the debts of the Kingdom; or, by other Acts of Parliament, for the relief of his

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“ poor Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*. For what concerned his Magazines, he was content that all the Arms, and Ammunition, taken out of his Magazines, which did remain in the hands of both Houses, or of Persons employed by them, should be, as soon as the Treaty was concluded, delivered into the Tower of *London*; and that whatsoever should be wanting of the Proportions taken by them; should be supplied by them, with all convenient speed in kind; which, he said, should be committed to, and continued in, the Custody of the sworn Officers, to whose places the same belonged: And if any of those Officers had already forfeited, or hereafter should forfeit that Trust, by any misdemeanours, his Majesty would by no means defend them from the Justice of the Law. That he always intended to restore such Arms, and Ammunition, which he had been compelled to take from any Persons, and Places, when his own had been taken from him; and would make them recompence as soon as his own Stores were restored to him.

“ To whatsoever they proposed for the slighting all Fortifications, and reducing all Garrisons, which had been made since the beginning of the Troubles, and leaving them in the State they were before, the King fully, and absolutely consented; and that the old Castles, and Garrisons, should be reduced to their Ancient proportion, and establishment; but for the Governors, and Commanders of them, he said, that the Cinque Ports were already in the Custody of

“ a Noble Person, against whom he knew no just B O O K
“ exception, and who had such a legal interest VII,
“ therein, that he could not, with Justice, remove
“ him from it until some sufficient cause were made
“ appear to him: But he was very willing, if he
“ should at any time be found guilty of any thing
“ that might make him unworthy of that Trust,
“ that he might be proceeded against according to
“ the Rules of Justice. That the Government of the
“ Town of *Portsmouth*, and all other Forts, Castles,
“ and Towns, as were formerly kept by Garrisons,
“ should be put into the hands of such Persons,
“ against whom no just exceptions could be made;
“ all of them being, before these Troubles, by
“ Letters Patents granted to several Persons, against
“ any of whom he knew not any exceptions, who
“ should be removed if just cause should be given
“ for the same. The Warden of the Cinque-Ports,
“ and all other Governors, and Commanders of the
“ Towns, and Castles, should keep their Charges,
“ as by the Law they ought to do, and For the
“ King's service, and safety of the Kingdom; and
“ they should not admit into any of them Foreign
“ Forces, or other Forces raised, or brought into
“ them contrary to the Law; but should use their
“ utmost endeavours to suppress such Forces, and
“ should seize all Arms, and Ammunition, which
“ by the Laws, and Statutes of the Kingdom, they
“ ought to seize.

To that part which concerned the Ships, the King
told them, “ that he expected his own Ships should
“ be delivered to him, as by the Law they ought

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“ to be; and that when he should think fit to no-
 “ minate a Lord High-Admiral of *England*, it should
 “ be such a Person against whom no just exception
 “ could be made; and if any should be, he would
 “ always leave him to his due Trial, and Exami-
 “ nation; and he would grant his Office to him by
 “ such Letters-Patent, as had been used. In the
 “ mean time he would govern the Admiralty by
 “ Commission, as had been in all times accustomed;
 “ and whatsoever Ships should be sent out by Him;
 “ or his Authority, should be employed for the de-
 “ fence of the Kingdom against all Foreign Forces
 “ whatsoever, for the Safeguard of Merchants, Se-
 “ curing of Trade, Guarding of *Ireland*, and the
 “ Intercepting of all Supplies to be carried to the
 “ Rebels; and they should use their utmost endea-
 “ vours to suppress all Forces, which should be
 “ raised, by any Person whatsoever, against the
 “ Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom, and to seize
 “ all Arms and Ammunition provided for the supply
 “ of any such Forces.

It is evident to all Men where the difference now
 lay between them, being whether the King would
 reserve the disposal of those Offices and Places of
 Trust to Himself, which all Kings had enjoyed, and
 was indeed a part of his Regality, or whether he
 would be content with such a Nomination, as, being
 to pass, and depend upon their approbation, no Man
 should ever be admitted to them, who was nomi-
 nated by Him. The Committee, upon his Majesty's
 Answer, desired to know, “ whether he did intend,
 “ that both Houses should express Their confidence

“ of the Persons, to whose trust those places were
“ to be committed; for that they were directed by
“ their Instructions, that, if his Majesty was pleased
“ to assent thereunto, and to nominate Persons of
“ Quality to receive the charge of them, that they
“ should certify it to both Houses of Parliament, that
“ thereupon they might express their confidence in
“ those Persons, or humbly desire his Majesty to
“ name others, none of which Persons to be re-
“ moved during three years next ensuing, without
“ just cause to be approved by both Houses; and if
“ any should be so removed, or die within that
“ space, the Persons, to be put in their places, to
“ be such, as the two Houses should Confide in.”

The King answered, “ that He did not intend, that
“ the Houses should express Their confidence of the
“ Persons, to whose trusts those places should be
“ committed, but only that they should have liberty,
“ upon any just exception, to proceed against any
“ such Persons according to Law; his Majesty
“ being resolved not to Protect them against the
“ public Justice. When any of the places should be
“ void, he well knew the Nomination, and free
“ Election of those, who should succeed, to be a
“ right belonging to, and inherent in his Majesty;
“ and having been enjoyed by all his Royal Pro-
“ genitors, he could not believe his well affected
“ Subjects desired to limit him in that Right; and
“ desired they would be satisfied with this Answer,
“ or give him any reasons to alter his Resolution,
“ and he would comply with them.

They told him, “ there could be no good and

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"firm Peace hoped for, if there were not a cure
"found out for the Fears and Jealousies; and they
"knew none sure, but This which they had pro-
"posed." The King replied, "that he rather ex-
"pected reasons grounded upon Law, to have
"showed him, by the Law, that he had not that
"Right he pretended, or that they had a Right Su-
"perior to His, in what was now in question; or
"that they would have showed him some legal
"reason, why the Persons trusted by him were in-
"capable of such a trust; than that they would only
"have insisted upon Fears, and Jealousies, of which
"as he knew no ground, so he must be ignorant of
"the Cure. That the Argument they used might
"extend to the depriving him of, or at least sharing
"with him in, all his just Regal Power; since
"Power, as well as Forces, might be the object
"of Fears and Jealousies, and there would be always
"a Power left to hurt, whilst there was any left
"to protect and defend." He told them, "if he had
"as much inclination, as he had more right, to
"Fears and Jealousies, he might with more reason
"have insisted upon an addition of Power, as a
"Security to enable him to keep his Forts, when
"he had them; since it appeared it was not so great,
"but that they had been able to take them from him,
"than they to make any difficulty to restore
"them to him in the same case they were before.
"But, he said, as he was himself content with, so,
"he took God to Witness, his greatest desire was,
"to observe always and maintain the Law of the
"Land; and expected the same from his Subjects;

“ and believed the mutual observance of that Rule, B O O K
 “ and neither of them to fear what the Law feared VII.
 “ not, to be, on both parts, a better Cure for that
 “ dangerous disease of Fears and Jealousies, and a
 “ better means to establish a happy and perpetual
 “ Peace, than for him to divest himself of those trusts,
 “ which the Law of the Land had settled in the
 “ Crown alone, to preserve the Power, and Dig-
 “ nity of the Prince, for the better Protection of
 “ the Subject, and of the Law, and to avoid those
 “ dangerous distractions, which the Interest of any
 “ Sharers with him would have infallibly produced.”

The Committee neither offered to Answer his Ma-
 jesty's reasons, nor to oppose other reasons to weigh
 against them; but only said, “ That they were
 “ commanded by their Instructions, to insist upon
 “ the desires of both Houses formerly expressed.”
 To which the King made no other Answer, “ than
 “ that he conceived it all the Justice in the world for
 “ him to insist, that what was by Law his own, and
 “ had been contrary to Law taken from him, should
 “ be fully restored to him, without conditioning to
 “ impose any new limitations upon Him, or his Minis-
 “ ters, which were not formerly required from them
 “ by the Law; and he thought it most unreasonable,
 “ to be pressed to diminish his own just Rights Him-
 “ self, because Others had violated and usurped
 “ them.” This was the Sum of what passed in the
 Treaty upon that Proposition.

To the first Proposition of the two Houses, “ That
 “ his Majesty would be pleased to disband his
 “ Armies, as They likewise would be ready to

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“ disband all their Forces, which they had raised,
 “ and that he would be pleased to return to his Par-
 “ liament:” The King Answered, “ that he was as
 “ ready and willing that all Armies should be dis-
 “ banded, as any Person whatsoever; and con-
 “ ceived the best way to it, would be a happy and
 “ speedy conclusion of the present Treaty; which,
 “ if both Houses would contribute as much as He
 “ would do to it, would be suddenly effected. And
 “ as he desired nothing more than to be with his two
 “ Houses, so he would repair thither as soon as he
 “ could possibly do it with his Honor, and Safety.”
 The Committee asked him, “ if by a happy and
 “ speedy conclusion of the present Treaty, he in-
 “ tended a conclusion upon the two first Proposi-
 “ tions, or a conclusion of the Treaty in all the
 “ Propositions of both parts.” The King, who well
 knew it would be very ungracious to deny the dis-
 banding of the Armies, till all the Propositions were
 agreed, some whereof would require much time,
 answered, “ that he intended such a conclusion of,
 “ or in the Treaty, as there might be a clear evidence
 “ to Himself, and his Subjects, of a future Peace,
 “ and no ground left for the continuance, or growth
 “ of those bloody Dissensions; which, he doubted
 “ not might be obtained, if both Houses would con-
 “ sent that the Treaty should proceed without farther
 “ interruption, or limitation of days.” They asked
 him, “ What he intended should be a clear evidence
 “ to him, and his good Subjects, of a future Peace,
 “ and no ground left for the continuance, and growth
 “ of those bloody Dissensions? His Majesty told

“ them, if the conclusion of the present Treaty upon
 “ his first Proposition, and the first Proposition of
 “ both Houses, should be so full, and perfectly
 “ made, that the Law of the Land might have a full,
 “ free, and uninterrupted course, for the defence,
 “ and preservation of the Rights of his Majesty, and
 “ of Themselves, and the rest of his Subjects, there
 “ would be thence a clear evidence to Him, and all
 “ Men, of a future Peace; and it would be such a
 “ conclusion as he intended, never meaning that
 “ both Armies should remain undischarged until the
 “ Propositions on both sides were fully concluded.”
 To the other clause of their own Proposition concerning the King’s return to the Parliament, they said,
 “ they had no Instructions to treat upon it;” which the King much wondered at; and finding that they had no other Authority, to Treat, or Debate what was necessary to be done in order to disbanding, but only to press him to appoint a day for the actual disbanding; and that the Forces in the North, where He had a great Army, and They had none, might be first discharged, he endeavoured to draw them to some Propositions upon his return to the Parliament; from whence expedients would naturally result, if they pursued that heartily, which would conclude a general Peace. And it seemed very strange, that, after so many discourses of the King’s absence from the Houses, from whence they had taught the People to believe, that most of the present Evils flowed, and proceeded, when a Treaty was now entered upon, and that was a part of their own first Proposition, that their Committee should have no Instructions or

B O O K Authority to Treat upon it. After this, they received
VII. new Instructions, "to declare to his Majesty the
 "desire of both Houses, for his coming to his Par-
 "liament; which, they said, they had often expressed
 "with full offers of security to his Royal Person,
 "agreeable to their Duty and Allegiance, and they
 "knew no cause why he might not repair thither
 "with Honor, and Safety." When the King found
 he could not engage them in that Argument to make
 any particular Overture, or Invitation to him, and
 that the Committee, who expressed willingness
 enough, had not in truth the least power to promote,
 or contribute to an accommodation, lest they should
 make the People believe, that he had a desire to con-
 tinue the War, because he consented not to their
 Proposition of disbanding the Armies, he sent this
 Message, by an express of his own, to the two
 Houses, after he had first communicated it to their
 Committee.

Oxford April 12th 1643.

His Majesty's
 Message to the
 two Houses of
 Apr. 12. 1643.

"To show to the whole world, how earnestly
 "his Majesty longs for Peace, and that no success
 "shall make him desire the continuance of his Army
 "to any other end, or for any longer time, than
 "that, and until, things may be so settled, as that
 "the Law may have a full, free, and uninterrupted
 "course, for the Defence, and Preservation of the
 "Rights of his Majesty, both Houses, and his
 "good Subjects:

1. "As soon as his Majesty is satisfied in his first
 "Proposition, concerning his own Revenue, Ma-
 "gazines, Ships, and Forts, in which he desires

“ nothing, but that the just, known, legal Rights
“ of his Majesty (devolved to him from his Proge-
“ nitors) and of the Persons trusted by him, which
“ have violently been taken from both, be restored
“ unto Him, and unto Them; unless any just and
“ legal exception against any of the Persons trusted
“ by him (which are yet unknown to his Majesty)
“ can be made appear to him :

2. “ As soon as all the Members of both Houses
“ shall be restored to the same capacity of Sitting,
“ and Voting in Parliament, as they had upon the
“ first of *January* 1641; the same, of right, belong-
“ ing unto them by their birth-rights, and the
“ free Election of those that sent them; and having
“ been Voted from them for adhering to his Majesty
“ in these distractions; his Majesty not intending
“ that this should extend either to the Bishops, whose
“ Votes have been taken away by Bill, or to such,
“ in whose places, upon new Writs, new Elections
“ have been made :

3. “ As soon as his Majesty, and both Houses, may
“ be secured from such tumultuous Assemblies, as
“ to the great breach of the Privileges, and the
“ high dishonor of Parliaments, have formerly Af-
“ sembled about both Houses, and awed the Mem-
“ bers of the same; and occasioned two several
“ Complaints from the Lords House, and two sever-
“ al desires of that House to the House of Commons,
“ to join in a Declaration against them; the com-
“ plying with which desire might have prevented
“ all these miserable distractions, which have en-
“ sued; which security, his Majesty conceives,

BOOK " can be only settled by adjourning the Parliament
VII. " to some other place, at the least twenty Miles
" from *London*, the choice of which his Majesty
" leaves to both Houses.

" His Majesty will most cheerfully and readily
" consent, that both Armies be immediately dis-
" banded, and give a present meeting to both his
" Houses of Parliament at the time, and place, at,
" and to which, the Parliament shall be agreed to
" be Adjourned: His Majesty being most confident,
" that the Law will then recover due credit and
" estimation; and that upon a free Debate, in a full
" and peaceable Convention of Parliament, such
" provisions will be made against seditious Preach-
" ing, and Printing against his Majesty, and the
" established Laws, which have been one of the
" Chief causes of the present distractions, and such
" care will be taken concerning the Legal, and
" known Rights of his Majesty, and the Property,
" and Liberty of his Subjects, that whatsoever hath
" been published, or done, in or by color of any
" illegal Declaration, Ordinance, or Order of one
" or both Houses, or any Committee of either of
" them, and particularly the power to raise Armies
" without his Majesty's consent, will be in such
" manner recalled, disclaimed, and provided against,
" that no seed will remain for the like to spring out
" of for the future, to disturb the Peace of the King-
" dom, and to endanger the very being of it. And
" in such a Convention his Majesty is resolved, by
" his readiness to consent to whatsoever shall be pro-
" posed to him, by Bill, for the real good of his
" Subjects

“ Subjects (and particularly for the better discovery,
 “ and speedier conviction of Recufants; for the
 “ Education of the Children of Papifts by Protestants
 “ in the Protestant Religion; for the prevention of
 “ practices of Papifts againft the State; and the due
 “ Execution of the Laws, and true levying of the
 “ Penalties againft them) to make known to all the
 “ world, how caufeless thofe Fears, and Jealoufies
 “ have been, which have been raifed againft him;
 “ and by that fo diftracted this miserable Kingdom.
 “ And if this Offer of his Majefty be not confented
 “ to (in which he Afks nothing for which there is
 “ not apparent Juftice on his fide, and in which he
 “ defers many things highly concerning both Him-
 “ felf, and People, till a full, and peaceable Con-
 “ vention of Parliament, which in Juftice he might
 “ now require) his Majefty is confident, that it
 “ will Then appear to all the world, not only Who
 “ is moft defirous of Peace, and Whofe fault it is
 “ that both Armies are not now difbanded; but
 “ Who have been the true and firft caufe, that this
 “ Peace was ever interrupted, or thofe Armies raifed,
 “ and the beginning, or continuance of the War;
 “ and the deftruction, and defolation of this poor
 “ Kingdom (which is too likely to enfue) will not
 “ by the moft interefted, paffionate, or prejudicate
 “ Perfon, be imputed to his Majefty.”

To this Message the two Houfes returned no
 Answer to the King, but required the Committee
 to return to *Wefminfter* (having been in *Oxford* with
 his Majefty juft twenty days) with fuch pofitive
 circumftances, that the Houfe of Commons enjoined

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Their Members to begin their Journey the same day; which they obeyed; though it was so late, that they were forced to very inconvenient Accommodations; and at their return, some of them were looked upon with great Jealousy, as Persons engaged by the King, and disinclined to the Parliament; and this Jealousy prevailed so far, that Mr. *Martin* opened a Letter from the Earl of *Northumberland* to his own Lady, presuming he should therein have discovered some combination; and this insolence was not disliked.

Many were of opinion, that the King was too severe in this Treaty, and insisted too much upon what is his own by Right, and Law; and that if he would have distributed Offices and Places, liberally to particular Men, which had been a condescension in Policy to be submitted to, he might have been repossessed of his own Power. And I have heard this alledged by many, who at that time were extremely violent against all such Artifices. The Committee themselves (who at that time perfectly abhorred the proceedings of the Parliament, or rather the power, and superiority of the Earl of *Essex*) seemed exceedingly desirous of such an accommodation, as all good Men desired; and to believe, that if the King would have condescended so far, as to nominate the Earl of *Northumberland* to be Lord High-Admiral that it would have made so great a division in the Houses, that the Treaty would have been continued, and his Majesty been satisfied in all the other Propositions. And the Earl of *Northumberland*, to private Friends, did make as full Professions of future

Service to his Majesty, and as ample Recognitions of past Errors, and Mistakes, as could reasonably be expected from a wary Nature, before he could be sure what reception such Professions, and Vows would find. But the King thought the Power and Interest of that Committee would be able to do little, if it could not prevail for the enlarging the time of the Treaty, in which they seemed heartily to engage themselves. And he was resolved at least to have a probable Assurance of the conclusion, before he would offer such concessions, as taking no effect might prove prejudicial to him: As particularly, the nominating the Earl of *Northumberland* to be Admiral (though he would willingly have done it, as the price and pledge of an Honorable Peace) would have discontented all who had, how unreasonably soever, promised themselves that preferment; and many would have imputed it to an unseasonable easiness (from which imputation it concerned the King, at that time, as much to purge himself, as of unmercifulness and revenge) upon promises, and hopes, to have re-admitted a Man to a charge, and trust, he had so fatally betrayed, and broken, against as solemn promises, and obligations, at the least, as he could now enter into; and therefore it concerned the King to be sure of some advantage, in lieu of this visible hazard.

I am one of those, who do believe, that this obligation, at this time, laid upon the Earl of *Northumberland*, with such other circumstances of kindness, as would have been fit to accompany it, would have met real gratitude, and faithfulness in

BOOK VII. him (for as, originally, he had, I am persuaded, no evil purposes against the King; so he had now sufficient disdain and indignation against those who got him to tread their Ways, when he had not their Ends) and that it would have made some rent and division in the two Houses (which could not but have produced some benefit to the King) and that it might probably have procured some few days addition for the continuance of the Treaty; the avowed ground of denying it, being, because the King had not, in the least degree, consented to any one thing proposed by them: but, I confess, I cannot entertain any imagination, that it would have produced a Peace, or given the King any advantage, or benefit in the War: what inconvenience it might have produced hath been touched before. For, besides that the stirring and Active Party, who carried on the War, were neither gracious to the Earl of *Northumberland*, nor He to them, their Favorite at Sea being then the Earl of *Warwick*, who had the possession of the Fleet, and whom alone they believed fit to be trusted with the Navy; whoever calls to mind, what was done in the Houses, during the time of the Treaty, and by Their directions; that by their own Authority they directed all the Lands of Bishops, Deans and Chapters, to be sequestered, and inhibited their Tenants to pay any Rent to them; that under pretence of searching for Arms, and taking away superstitious Pictures, they caused the Queen's Chapel at *Somerſet-Houſe* (where ſhe was to exerciſe her devotion, if they ever meant ſhe ſhould return again to *London*) to be moſt licen-

tionously rifled; in which Licence with impunity, her Lodgings were plundered, and all her furniture, and goods of value, taken away and embezzled; that there was an Order made in the House of Commons, when They sent Their Messengers every day to *Oxford* without any Formality, or Control, "that
 " whatsoever Person should come from *Oxford*,
 " or any part of the King's Army to *London*, or the
 " parts adjacent, without the Warrant of both
 " Houses of Parliament, or of the Lord General, the
 " Earl of *Essex*, he should be apprehended as a Spy
 " and Intelligencer, and be proceeded against accord-
 " ing to the rules and grounds of War;" by Virtue of which Order of the House of Commons only, and without any communication that notice might be taken of it, a Servant of the King's, for discharging the duty of his place, was executed; which shall be anon remembered; all which, except the execution of that Man, was transacted during the time of the Treaty at *Oxford*.

Whosoever remembers, the other Proposition upon which the Treaty was founded, and the Bills then presented to the King for his Royal Assent; that there was no unreasonable thing demanded in the nineteen Propositions, which was not comprehended in these fourteen, and many additions made that were not in the former; that they demanded the total abolition and extirpation of Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, and the whole frame of the Government of the Church; and another Bill for the calling an Assembly of Divines, nominated by themselves (which was a presumption, as con-

B O O K VII. **contrary to the Policy and Government of the Kingdom,** as the most extravagant Act they had done) consisting of Persons the most deeply engaged in the most unwarrantable Acts that had been done; and yet his Majesty was required to promise to pass such other Bills for settling of Church-Government, as, upon consultation with that Assembly of Divines, should be resolved on by both Houses of Parliament: That all the other Bills then presented to the King for his Royal Assent, and insisted on by their fourth Proposition, though they had specious and popular Titles, contained many Clauses in them contrary to common Equity, and the Right of the Subject, and introduced proceedings very different from the known Justice of the Kingdom; and therefore, besides the time, and circumstances of the passing those Acts (when the Nation was in blood) not like to meet with his Majesty's Approbation; I say, whosoever remembers, and considers all this (to say nothing of the limitations by which their Committee were bound, without any power of debating, or other capacity than to deliver the Resolutions of the two Houses, and to receive the King's Answer, which might as effectually have been done, by any one single ordinary Messenger) cannot, I conceive, believe, that the King's consenting to make any one Person among them High-Admiral of *England*, would have been a means to have restored the Kingdom to a present Peace, and the King to his just Rights and Authority. And if all these considerations be not sufficient to render that supposition impro-

bable, that, which follows next in order of Story, will abundantly confute it. BOOK VII.

On *Saturday* the 15th of *April*, which was the very day on which the Treaty expired at *Oxford*, being the last of the twenty days which were first assigned, and to which no importunity of the King's could procure an Addition, the Earl of *Essex* marched with his whole Army from *Windfor*, and sat down before *Reading*; which preparation would not have been so exactly made, and the resolution so punctually taken, if they had meant any reasonable concessions from the King should have frustrated that vast charge, and determined all farther Contentions. The Earl had never before been in the head of so gallant an Army, which consisted of about sixteen thousand Foot, and above three thousand Horse, in as good an Equipage, and supplied with all things necessary for a Siege, as could be expected from an Enemy which knew no wants, and had the Command of the Tower of *London*, and all other Stores of the Kingdom. In the Town were above three thousand Foot, and a Regiment of Horse consisting of near three hundred; the Fortifications were very mean to endure a formed Siege, being made only to secure a Winter-Quarter, and never intended for a standing Garrison. And it is very true, that it was resolved at a Council of War at *Oxford*, "that before the end of *April*" (before which time it was conceived the Enemy would not adventure to take the Field) "Sir *Arthur Aston* should slight those Works, and draw off his Garrison to the King;" and that which made it less able to bear a Siege, than the

The Earl of Essex marches to Besiege Reading Apr. 14. being the last day of the Treaty.

B O O K weakness of their Works, was their want of Am-
VII. munition; for they had not forty Barrels of Powder;
 which could have held a brisk and a daring Enemy
 but a short time. And as this defect proceeded not
 from want of foresight, so it was not capable of
 being supplied, at least in that proportion as was
 worthy the name of a Supply. For the King had no
 Port to Friend, by which he could bring Ammu-
 nition to *Oxford*; neither had he been yet able to set
 up any Manufacture for any considerable supply.
 So that what he brought up with him after the
 Battle of *Edge-hill*, which was the remainder of the
 four hundred Barrels brought by the Ship called the
Providence, before the setting up of his Standard,
 had served for all his expeditions, being distributed
 into the several Garrisons; and was still to furnish
 all his growing occasions; and that Magazine now
 at *Reading* (which was no greater than is before
 mentioned) was yet double to what was in any
 other place, *Oxford* only excepted; wherein, at
 this time, there was not above one hundred Barrels
 of Powder, and in no one place Match proportion-
 able to that little Powder: And this defect is whole-
 ly to be imputed to the lowness, and straitness of
 the King's condition; for there was no want of
 industry, but all imaginable care and pains taken to
 prevent, and supply it.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, the Town
 looked upon the Enemy with Courage and Con-
 tempt enough; and to say the truth, both Officers
 and Soldiers were as good, as in the infancy of a
 War could be expected; and they had no appre-

hension of want of Victual, with which they were abundantly stored. The Soldiers without, were, for the most part, newly levied, and few of their Officers acquainted with the way and order of Assaulting Towns; and this was the first Siege that happened in *England*. Upon the first sitting down before it, after they had taken a full View of the ground, their General advised with his Council of War, in what manner he should proceed, whether by Assault, or Approach; in which there was great diversity of opinions. "The Works were weak; "the Number of the Assailants sufficient; all materials in readiness; they believed the Soldiers in the "Town full of Apprehensions, and a very considerable Party of the Inhabitants disaffected to the "Garrison, who in the time of a Storm would be "able to beget a great distraction. They might be "able to Storm it in so many places at once, that "the number of the Soldiers within would not be "able to defend all; and if they prevailed in any "One, their whole Body of Horse might enter, "and be immediately Masters of the Town. If they "prevailed this way, their Army would have that "Reputation, and carry that terror with it, that "no power of the King's would hereafter be able to abide it; but they might march over the Kingdom, "and subdue every part of it; whereas if they delayed their work, and proceeded by way of Approach, those in the Town would recover heart, "and after they had digested the present Fears and "Apprehensions, contemn their danger; and their "own Soldiers, who were yet fresh and vigorous,

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" would every day abate in Courage, and their
" Numbers in a few weeks lessen as much by sickness
" and duty, as they should probably do by an As-
" fault." On the other hand it was objected, " that
" the Army consisted most of new Levies" (and in
truth there were not, of all that gallant Army that
was at *Edge-hill*, among the Foot, three thousand
Men) " who would be hardly brought to begin
" upon so desperate Service; that it was the only
" Army the Parliament had, upon which all their
" hopes, and welfare depended; and if, in the
" Spring, it should receive an Eminent foil, they
" would not recover their Courage again all the
" Summer. That they were not only to look upon
" the taking of *Reading*, but, pursuing that in a
" seasonable way, to keep themselves in a posture
" and condition to end the War by a Battle with all
" the King's Forces; which would no doubt apply
" themselves to their relief; and no place under
" Heaven could be so commodious for them to try
" their Fortune in, as That. Whereas if they should
" hastily engage themselves upon an Assault, and
" receive a Repulse, and should be afterwards
" forced to rise to Fight with the King, they should
" never make their Men stand; and then their Cause
" was lost." As for the danger of sickness among the
Soldiers, who were not acquainted with hardship,
it was urged, " that though it were earlier in the
" year than the Armies usually marched into the
" Field, yet they had much better accommodation
" and provision than Armies use to have; their Horse
" (to whom that time of the year is commonly most

“hazardous, through the want of Forage) being
 “plentifully provided for with Hay and Oats by
 “the benefit of the River, and all Supplies being
 “sent for the Foot out of *London*.”

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-And in truth it is hardly credible what vast quantities (besides the Provisions made in a very regular way by the Commissioners) of excellent Victual ready dressed, were every day sent in Waggon and Carts from *London* to the Army, upon the voluntary contributions from private Families, according to their Affections to the good Work in hand: the Common People being persuaded, that the taking of *Reading* would destroy all the King's hopes of an Army; and that it would be taken in very few days. Upon these Arguments and Debates (in which all these reasons were considered on both sides) the Major part of the Council inclined, and with that the General complied, to pursue the business by Approach. It was reported, that the Officers of Horse in the Council were all for a Storm, and the Foot-Officers for Approaching. The chief Care and Oversight of the Approaches was committed to *Philip Skippon*, a Man often mentioned in the first part of this History, who had been an old Officer, and of good experience in the low Countries, and was now made Serjeant-Major-General of the Army, by the absolute power of the two Houses, and without the cheerful concurrence of the Earl of *Essex*; though Sir *John Merrick*, who had executed that place by his Lordship's choice from the beginning, was preferred to be General of the Ordnance.

The Approaches advanced very fast, the ground

B O O K being in all places as fit for that work as could be;
VII. and the Town lying so low, that they had easily raised many Batteries, from whence they shot their Cannon into the Town at a near distance, but without any considerable execution; there being fewer lost by that Service, than will be believed, and but one Man of note, Lieutenant-Colonel *D'Ews* a young Man of notable Courage, and Vivacity, who had his Leg shot off by a Cannon-Bullet, of which he speedily and very cheerfully died. From the Town there were frequent Sallies with good success; and very many Soldiers, and some Officers, of the Enemy were killed; more, hurt; who were sent to Hospitals near *London*; and those that were sent to *London*, as many Cart-Loads were, were brought in the night, and disposed with great secrecy, that the Citizens might take no notice of it; the Stratagems of this kind are too ridiculous to be particularly set down, though pursued then with great industry, insomuch as some were punished for reporting that there were many Soldiers killed, and hurt before *Reading*; and it was a mark of Malignity to believe those reports; so unfit the People were to be trusted with all truths.

Within a week after the beginning of the Siege, Sir *Arthur Aston* the Governor, being in a Court-of-Guard near the Line which was nearest to the Enemies Approaches, a Cannon-shot accidentally lighted upon the top of it, which was covered with Brick-tile, a piece whereof, the shot going through, hit the Governor in the head, and made that impression upon him, that his senses shortly failed him; so that

he was not only disabled afterwards from executing in his own Person, but incompetent for Counsel or Direction; so that the chief Command was devolved to Colonel *Richard Fielding*, who was the eldest Colonel of the Garrison. This accident was then thought of great misfortune to the King, for there was not in his Army an Officer of greater Reputation, and of whom the Enemy had a greater dread. The next night after this accident, but before it was known at *Oxford*, a Party from thence under the Command of Mr. *Wilnot* the Lieutenant General of the Horse, without any signal opposition, put in a supply of powder, and a Regiment of five hundred Foot into the Town, and received Advertisment from thence of the Governor's hurt, and that they must expect to be relieved within a week, beyond which time they should not be able to hold out. How ill the King was provided for such an expedition, will best appear by remembering how his Forces were then scattered, and the present posture he was then in at *Oxford*.

The nimble and the successful marches of Sir *William Waller*, whom We left triumphing in *Wales*, after his strange surprise of the Lord *Herbert's* Forces near *Glocester*, caused the King to send Prince *Maurice* with a strong Party of Horse and Dragoons to attend him, who moved from place to place with as great success as speed, after his success at *Hynam*; and to make the shame of those Officers the less, with the spirit of Victory doubled upon him, he came before *Hereford*, a Town very well affected, and reasonably well Fortified, having a strong Stone-

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Wall about it, and some Cannon, and there being in it some Soldiers of good Reputation, and many Gentlemen of Honor, and Quality; and three or four hundred Soldiers, besides the Inhabitants well Armed; yet, without the loss of one Man on either side, to the admiration of all, who then heard it, or have ever since heard of it, he persuaded them fairly to give up the Town, and yield themselves Prisoners upon Quarter; which they did, and were presently by him sent for their better security to *Bristol*.

Sir William
Waller takes
Hereford:

Comes before
Worcester.
is repulsed.

From thence he marched to *Worcester*, where his conquests met some stop; for though the Town was not so strong, nor the Garrison so great (I mean of Soldiers; for the Inhabitants were more) as *Hereford*, nor one Officer in it of more experience than he had gotten this unhappy War, the Inhabitants had the Courage to resolve not to admit any Summons or Messenger from him; and when his Drum, against all signs made to him from the Walls not to Approach, did notwithstanding refuse to return without delivering his Message, they shot at him, and killed him; and when Sir *William Waller* himself, to revenge that Affront, marched with his whole Body towards them (there being only an old Gate without Bridge, or Work before it, to hinder his entrance into the Town) they entertained him so roughly, that he was forced to retire with the loss of some Officers, and about twenty Common-Men; after which, his Men having not been accustomed to such usage, he got over the *Severn* again, and with quick night-marches, so avoided Prince

Maurice (who took no less pains to meet with him) that with some few light Skirmishes, in which he received small loss, he carried his Party safe, and full of Reputation, through *Glocester* to the Earl of *Essex's* Army before *Reading*; himself being sent for to *London*, upon a design that must be hereafter mentioned.

The great want at *Oxford* (if any one particular might deserve that Style, where all necessary things were wanted) was Ammunition; and the only hope of supply was from the North; yet the passage from thence so dangerous, that a Party little Inferior in strength to an Army was necessary to convey it; for, though the Earl of *New Castle*, at that time, was Master of the Field in *Yorkshire*, yet the Enemy was much Superior in all the Counties between that County and *Oxford*; and had planted many Garrisons so near all the Roads, that the most private Messengers travelled with great hazard, three being intercepted for one that escaped. To clear these obstructions, and not without the design of guarding and waiting on the Queen to *Oxford*, if her Majesty were ready for that Journey, at least to secure a necessary supply of Powder, Prince *Rupert* resolved in Person to march towards the North, and about the beginning of *April* (the Treaty being then at *Oxford*, and there being hopes that it would have produced a good effect, at least that the Earl of *Essex* would not have taken the Field till *May*) his Highness, with a Party of twelve hundred Horse and Dragoons, and six or seven hundred Foot, marched towards *Lichfield*; which if he could reduce,

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Prince Rupert
marches
towards the
North.

B O O K and settle there a Garrison for the King, lay most
VII. convenient for that Northern Communication; and would with it dissolve other little adjacent holds of the Enemies, which contributed much to their interruption. In his way thither, he was to march through *Bromicham*, a Town in *Warwickshire* before mentioned, and of as great fame for hearty, wilful, affected Disloyalty to the King, as any place in *England*. It is before remembered, that the King in his march from *Shrewsbury*, notwithstanding the eminent malignity of that People, had showed as eminent compassion to them; not giving way that they should suffer by the undistinguishing licence of the Soldier, or by the severity of his own Justice; which clemency of his, found so unequal a return, that, the next day after his remove thence, the Inhabitants of that place seized on his Carriages, wherein were his own Plate, and Furniture; and conveyed them to *Warwick-Castle*; and had from that time, with unusual industry and vigilance, apprehended all Messengers who were employed, or suspected to be so, in the King's Service; and though it was never made a Garrison by direction of the Parliament, being built in such a form, as was indeed hardly capable of being Fortified, yet they had so great a desire to distinguish themselves from the King's good Subjects, that they cast up little slight works at both ends of the Town, and Barricadoed the rest, and voluntarily engaged themselves not to admit any intercourse with the King's Forces.

In this posture Prince *Rupert* now found them, having in the Town with them at that time a Troop
of

of Horse, belonging to the Garrison of *Lichfield*, which was grown to that strength, that it intreated those parts exceedingly; and would in a short time have extended itself to a powerful Jurisdiction. His Highness hardly believing it possible, that when they should discover his Power, they would offer to make Resistance, and being unwilling to receive interruption in his more Important design, sent his Quarter-Masters thither to take up his Lodging; and to assure them, "that if they behaved themselves peaceably, they should not suffer for what was past:" But they had not Consciences good enough to believe him, and absolutely refused to let him Quarter in the Town; and from their little Works, with Mettle equal to their Malice, they discharged their shot upon him; but they were quickly overpowered, and some parts of the Town being fired, they were not able to contend with both Enemies; and, distracted between both, suffered the Assailant to enter without much loss; who took not that vengeance upon them they deserved, but made them expiate their Transgressions with paying a less Mulct, than might have been expected from their Wealth, if their Wickedness had been less.

Taken by
Micham.

In the Entrance of this Town, and in the too eager pursuit of that loose Troop of Horse that was in it, the Earl of *Denbigh* (who from the beginning of the War, with unwearied pains, and exact submission to discipline and order, had been a Volunteer in Prince *Rupert's* Troop, and been engaged with singular Courage in all enterprises of danger) was unfortunately wounded with many hurts on the

BOOK VII. Head and Body with Swords, and Poll-Axes; of which, within two or three days, he died. Had it not been for this ill accident (and to remember the dismal inequality of this contention, in which always some Earl, or Person of great Honor or Fortune fell, when after the most signal Victory over the other side, there was seldom lost a Man of any known Family, or of other Reputation, than of Passion for the Cause in which he fell) I should not have mentioned an Action of so little moment, as was this of *Bromicham*; which I shall yet enlarge with the remembrance of a Clergy-Man, who was here killed at the entering of the Town, after he had not only refused quarter, but provoked the Soldiers by the most odious revilings, and reproaches of the Person and Honor of the King, that can be imagined, and renouncing all Allegiance to him; in whose pockets were found several Papers of Memorials of his own obscene, and scurrilous behaviour with several Women, in such loose expressions, as modest ears cannot endure. This Man was the principal Governor, and Incendiary of the rude People of that place against their Sovereign. So full a qualification was a heightened measure of malice and disloyalty for this Service, that it weighed down the infamy of any other lewd and vicious behaviour.

From *Bromicham*, the Prince, without longer stay than to remove two or three slight Garrisons in the way, which made very little resistance, marched to *Lichfield*, and easily possessed himself of the Town, which lay open to all Comers; but the Close (containing the Cathedral-Church, and all the Clergy-

Men's Houses) was strongly fortified, and resolved against him. The Wall, about which there was a broad and deep Moat, was so thick, and strong, that no Battery the Prince could raise, would make any impression; the Governor, one Colonel *Roussell*, very resolute; and the Garrison of such Men as were most transported with Superstition to the Cause in which they engaged, and in Number equal to the ground they were to keep, and their Provisions ample for a longer time than it was fit the Prince should stay before it. So that it was believed, when his Highness had in vain endeavoured to procure it by Treaty, he would not have engaged before it; for his strength consisted, upon the matter, wholly in Horse; his Foot and Dragoons being an inconsiderable Force for such an Attempt. But whether the Difficulties were not thoroughly discerned, and weighed at first, or whether the importance of the place was thought so great, that it was worth an equal hazard, and adventure, he resolved not to move till he had tried the uttermost; and to that purpose, drew what addition of Force he could out of the Country, to strengthen his handful of Foot; and persuaded many Officers, and Volunteers of the Horse to alight, and bear their parts in the Duty; with which they cheerfully and gallantly complied; and in less than ten days, he had drawn the Moat dry, and prepared two Bridges for the graff. The Besieged omitted nothing that could be performed by vigilant, and bold Men; and killed, and wounded many of the Besiegers; and disappointed, and spoiled one Mine they had prepared.

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and Lichfield,
and returns to
the King.

In the end, early in the Morning, the Prince having prepared all things in readiness for the Assault, he sprung another Mine; which succeeded according to wish, and made a breach of twenty foot in the Wall, in a place least suspected by those within; yet they defended it with all possible Courage and Resolution, and killed and hurt very many; some, Officers of prime Quality; whereof the Lord *Digby*, Colonel *Gerrard*, Colonel *Wagstaffe*, and Major *Leg*, were the chief of the wounded; and when they had entered the breach, they continued the dispute so fiercely within (the narrowness of the breach, and the ascent not suffering many to enter together, and no Horse being able to get over) that after they had killed Colonel *Usher*, and some other good Officers, and taken others Prisoners (for both Colonel *Wagstaffe*, and *William Leg* were in their hands) they compelled the Prince to consent to very honorable Conditions; which he readily yielded to, as thinking himself a Gainer by the Bargain. And so the Garrison marched out with fair respect, and the Prince's testimony of their having made a Courageous Defence; his Highness being very glad of his Conquest, though the purchase had shrewdly shaken his Troops, and robbed him of many Officers and Soldiers he much valued. At this time, either the day before, or the day after this Action, Prince *Rupert* received a positive Order from the King, "to make all possible haste, with all the strength he had, and all he could draw together from those parts, to the Relief of *Reading*;" which was in the danger We but now left it. Upon which his

Highness, committing the Government of *Lichfield* to Colonel *Baggot*, a Son of a good and powerful Family in that County, and appointing his Troops to make what haste was possible after him, himself with a few Servants came to *Oxford* to attend the King, whom he found gone towards *Reading*. BOOK VII.

The importunity from that Garrison for Relief, was so peremptory, and the concernment so great in their Preservation, that the King found it would not bear the necessary delay of Prince *Rupert's* returning with His Forces; and therefore his Majesty in Person, with those Horse and Foot which he could speedily draw together, leaving very few behind him in *Oxford*, or in any other Garrison, advanced towards *Reading*; hoping, and that was the utmost of his hope, that He might with the Assistance of the Garrison, be able to force one Quarter, and so draw out his Men; and by the advantage of those Rivers which divided the Enemy, and by the Passes, be able to retire to *Oxford*; for being joined he could not have equalled one half of the Enemies Army. When the King drew near the Town, the day being passed whereon they had been promised, or had promised themselves Relief, he was encountered by a Party of the Enemy which defended their Post, who being quickly seconded by Supplies of Horse and Foot from all their Quarters, after a very sharp Conflict, in which many fell on both sides, the King's Party, Commanded by the Earl of *Forth* himself [the General] consisting of near one thousand Musqueteers, were forced to retire to their Body; which they did the sooner, because those of the Town

BOOK made no semblance of endeavouring to join with
VII. them; which was what they principally relied upon.
The reason of that was, the Garrison, not seeing
their Relief coming, had sent for a Parley to the
Enemy, which was agreed to, with a Truce for so
many hours, upon which Hostages were delivered;
and a Treaty begun, when the King came to Relieve
it. Upon the view of the Enemies strength, and in-
trenchment, all were of opinion that the small Forces
of the King would not be able to raise the Siege, or
to join with those in the Town; and in this Melan-
cholic conclusion his Majesty retired for the present,
resolving to make any other reasonable Attempt the
next day. In the mean time, some Soldiers found
means to escape out of the Town, and Colonel
Fielding himself in the Night came to the King, and
told him the State they were in; and "that they
" were in Treaty, and believed he might have very
" good Conditions, and liberty to march away with
" all their Arms and Bagage;" which was so welcome
News, that the King bid him, Prince *Rupert* being
then present, "that if he could procure such Con-
" ditions, he should accept them:" for indeed the
Men and the Arms were all that the King desired, the
loss of either of which was like to prove fatal to him.
The King continued still at *Nettlebeck*, a Village seven
or eight Miles distant from *Reading*, to attend the
success of the Treaty; resolving, if it succeeded not,
to try the utmost again for their Redemption; but all
Men praying heartily for liberty to march off upon
the Treaty, the next day these Articles were
agreed on.

1. " That the Governor, Commanders, and B O O K
 " Soldiers, both Horse and Foot, might march out VII.
 " with flying Colors, Arms, and four Pieces of Reading
 " Ordnance, Ammunition, Bag and Baggage, light surrendered
 " Match, Bullet in Mouth, Drums' beating and upon Articles
 " Trumpets sounding. Apr. 27.

2. " That they might have free passage to his Ma-
 " jesty's City of *Oxford*, without interruption of any
 " of the Forces under the command of his Excellency
 " the Earl of *Essex*; provided the said Governor,
 " Commanders, and Soldiers, use no Hostility until
 " they come to *Oxford*.

3. " That what Persons were accidentally come
 " to the Town, and shut up by the Siege, might have
 " liberty to pass without interruption; such Persons
 " only excepted, as had run away from the Army
 " under the Command of the Earl of *Essex*.

4. " That they shall have fifty Carriages for Bag-
 " gage, sick and hurt Men.

5. " That the Inhabitants of the Town of *Reading*
 " should not be pejudiced in their Estates, or Per-
 " sons, either by Plundering or Imprisonment; and
 " that they who would leave the Town, might have
 " free leave, and passage, safely to go to what place
 " they would, with their goods, within the space
 " of six Weeks after the Surrender of the Town.

6. " That the Garrison should quit the Town by
 " twelve of the Clock the next Morning; and that
 " the Earl of *Essex* should provide a Guard for the
 " Security of the Garrison-Soldiers, when they
 " begun to march."

Upon these Articles, signed by the Earl of *Essex*,

BOOK VII. the Town was delivered on the 27th day of *April* (being within a fortnight after the Siege begun) and the Garrison marched to the King, who stayed for them, and with him to *Oxford*. But at their coming out of the Town, and passing through the Enemies Guards, the Soldiers were not only reviled; and reproachfully used. but many of them disarmed, and most of the Waggon's plundered, in the presence of the Earl of *Essex* himself, and the Chief Officers; who seemed to be offended at it, and not to be able to prevent it; the unruliness of the Common-Men being so great. As this breach of the Articles was very notorious, and inexcusable, so it was made the rise, foundation, and excuse for barbarous injustice of the same kind throughout the greatest part of the War; insomuch as the King's Soldiers afterward, when it was Their part to be precise in the observation of Agreements, mutinously remembered the violation at *Reading*; and thereupon exercised the same Licence; from thence, either side having somewhat to object to the other, the requisite honesty and justice of observing conditions was mutually, as it were by agreement, for a long time after Violated.

There had been, in the Secret Committee for the carrying on the War, forming those designs, and administering to the expenses thereof, a long debate with great difference of opinion, whether they should not march directly with their Army to Besiege *Oxford*, where the King and the Court was, rather than *Reading*; and if they had taken that resolution, as Mr. *Hambden*, and all they who desired still to strike at the Root, very earnestly insisted upon, without

doubt they had put the King's Affairs into great confusion. For, besides that *Oxford* was not tolerably Fortified, nor the Garrison well provided for, the Court, and Multitude of Nobility, and Ladies, and Gentry, with which it was inhabited, bore any kind of Alarm very ill. But others, who did not yet think their Army well enough composed to resist all temptations, nor enough subdued in their inclinations to Loyalty, and Reverence towards the Person of the King, had no mind it should Besiege the very place where the King himself was; and the Earl of *Essex* himself, who was yet the Soul of the Army, had no mind to that Enterprize: and so the Army marched, as hath been said, directly to *Reading*, with the success that is mentioned.

Though, at the instant, the Parliament was highly pleased with the getting the Town, and the King as well contented, when he saw his entire Garrison safely joined to the rest of his Army (for it cannot be denied the joy was universal through the King's Quarters, upon the Assurance that they had recovered near four thousand good Men, whom they had given for lost) yet, according to the Vicissitudes in War, when the Accounts are cast up, either party grew quickly dissatisfied with it's success. The King was no sooner returned to *Oxford*, but upon conference between the Officers and Soldiers, there grew a Whisper, "that there had not been fair carriage, " and that *Reading* had been betrayed," and from thence made a noise through *Oxford*; and the very next day, and at the same time, Colonel *Fielding*, upon whom the discourses reflected, came to the King to

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Colonel
Fielding
ordered to be
tried for the
Surrender.

desire, " that an Account might be taken of the
 " whole business at a Council of War for his Vindi-
 " cation;" and the Common-Soldiers, in a disorderly
 manner, " to require Justice against Him for betraying,
 " and delivering up the Town to the Rebels;" which
 they avowed with so much confidence, with the
 mention of some particulars, " as the having frequent
 " intercourse with the Earl of *Essex*, and hindering
 " and forbidding the Soldiers to issue out of the
 " Town to join with the King, when he came to
 " relieve them, although their Officers had drawn
 " them up to that purpose, and were ready to lead
 " them; and the like;" with some rash, and passionate
 words disrespectful to his Majesty; so that he gave
 present order for his commitment, and trial at a Court
 of War; the King himself being marvellously incensed
 against him, for that Clause in the third Article, which
 gave liberty to all who were accidentally come to the
 Town, and shut up by the Siege, to pass without inter-
 ruption, wherein there was an exception of such Per-
 sons who had run away from the Earl of *Essex's* Army,
 and by virtue of that exception some Soldiers were
 taken after the rendering of the Town, and were exe-
 cuted. And though the Colonel excused himself, " as
 " being no more concerned to Answer for the Articles,
 " than every Member of the Council of War, by
 " which they were agreed;" yet it was alledged, " that
 " the Council of War had been induced to consent to
 " those Articles, upon the Colonel's averment, that
 " the King had seen them, and approved of them."
 Whereas his Majesty had never seen any Articles in
 writing, but only consented, that they should march

away with their Arms and Baggage, if the Enemy agreed to those conditions. I have not known the King more afflicted, than he was with that Clause, which he called no less " than giving-up those poor Men, who out of conscience of their Rebellion, had betaken themselves to his Protection, to be Massacred and Murdered by the Rebels, whom they had deserted ;" and for the vindication of himself therein, he immediately published a Proclamation, in which he took notice of that Clause ; and declared to all the world :

" That he was not privy to, or, in the least degree, consenting to that exception, but held the same most prejudicial to his Service, and derogatory to his Honor ; and that he would always chuse to run any hazard or danger, the Violence or Treason of his Enemies could threaten, or bring upon him, rather than he would withdraw, or deny his Protection to any, who, being convinced in their conscience of their disloyalty, should return to their Duty, and betake themselves to his Service. And as he had referred to a Court of War, the full examination of all the particular proceedings, in the delivery of that Town, that Justice might be done accordingly ; so he did declare, that he would always proceed with all severity against such, as should, by the like dishonorable conditions, expose his Subjects, and bereave Them of his Protection that had returned to their Obedience to him."

At the Trial, it was objected against the Colonel, that the Town might have been longer defended,

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BOOK " there being want of no necessary Provision, and
 VII. " as much Powder, at the giving it up, as there
 " was when the Enemy came first before it; for
 " besides the first supply, sixteen Barrels were put
 " in during the Skirmish, when the King came to
 " relieve it: That several Colonels pressed very ear-
 " nestly to sally, when the King's Forces were en-
 " gaged, and that they were expressly hindered,
 " and forbidden by Him: That he frequently gave
 " his Pass to a Woman to go out of the Town,
 " who went into the Earl of *Essex's* Army, and re-
 " turned again: That he persuaded the Council of
 " War to consent to the Articles, by protesting
 " that the King had well approved them, and re-
 " proached those Officers who were of another
 " opinion; " with some other particulars of Li-
 " cence and Passion, which reflected more upon his
 " Discretion, than his Honesty, or Conduct.

He justified himself " to have done nothing to-
 " wards the delivery of the place, but upon full
 " consideration, advice, and approbation of the
 " Council of War: That he was in his own con-
 " science, and judgment satisfied, that the Substance
 " of the Articles were advantageous for his Majesty's
 " Service; and though it was true, by that last sup-
 " ply of Ammunition, their Store was near as much
 " as when the Siege begun; yet it was in all but
 " thirty-two Barrels, which would have lasted but
 " few hours, if the Enemy, who had approached
 " within little more than Pistol-shot of some parts
 " of their works, should attack them in that manner
 " as they had reason to expect; and if they had

“ held out longer, when it had appeared that the
“ King was not strong enough to relieve them,
“ they should not have been admitted to such con-
“ ditions: and therefore, that he believed a hazard
“ of so great a concernment, was not to be run,
“ when he well knew his Majesty’s former resolution
“ of fighting the Garrison; and that it would not
“ be now done above a fortnight sooner than was
“ intended: That he had no knowledge of his Ma-
“ jesty’s approach, till the Forces were engaged,
“ when a Truce was concluded, and their Hostages
“ in the Enemies hands: and therefore, that he con-
“ ceived it against the Law of Arms to make any
“ attempt from the Town; and before they could
“ sufficiently deliberate it in Council, his Majesty’s
“ Forces retired: That the Woman to whom he
“ gave a Pass, was one, he often employed as a
“ Spy, with very good effect; and he did believe,
“ the advantage he received by it, was greater than
“ she could carry to the Enemy by any information
“ she could give: That he did persuade the Council
“ of War to consent to the conditions, because he
“ believed them very profitable to his Majesty, and
“ he had averred only his Majesty’s Approbation
“ of the general Substance of the Articles, never
“ applied it to the Clause of the third Article, which
“ he much desired to have altered, but could not
“ obtain the consent of the Enemy. If he had been
“ intemperate, or passionate to any, who were of
“ another opinion, or had used any passionate ex-
“ pressions in the Debate, it proceeded only from
“ his Zeal to the Service, and his apprehension of

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“ the loss of so many good Men, upon whom he
 “ well knew the King much depended: That he
 “ might have committed many Indiscretions, for
 “ which he desired pardon, but had not failed in
 “ point of Fidelity: That by the unfortunate hurt
 “ of the Governor, the Command was devolved
 “ upon him by his right of Seniority, not any am-
 “ bitious design of his own: That he had, from
 “ time to time, acquainted Sir *Arthur Aston* with
 “ the State, and Condition they were in, and though
 “ his indisposition of health was such, that he would
 “ not give positive Orders, he seemed to approve
 “ of all that was done; and though, for the former
 “ reason, he refused to sign the Articles, yet they
 “ were read to him, and he expressed no dislike of
 “ them.” The truth of it is, Sir *Arthur Aston* was
 believed by many, not to be in so incompetent a
 condition to Command as he pretended; and that
 albeit his head was so much swoln, that he might
 not in Person venture upon any execution, yet his
 understanding, or senses, were not much distem-
 pered, or discomposed; and that he only positively
 waved meddling, out of dislike of the condition they
 were in. And it is true, that, when he came to
Oxford, he could speak as reasonably of any matter,
 as ever I knew him before, or after.

Notwithstanding all the defence the Colonel could
 make for himself, and that there was not indeed any
 color of proof, that he had acted any thing trea-
 cherously, he was, upon an Article “ for not obeying
 “ Orders (for in this agitation he had received some
 such, which he had not precisely observed)” sen-

tenced to lose his head ; which judgment, after long and great intercession, was, in the end, remitted by the King ; but his Regiment disposed to another ; and He never restored to that Command. And though he had been always before of an unblemished Reputation for Honesty, and Courage ; and had heartily been engaged from the beginning of the Troubles, and been hurt in the Service, and he appeared afterwards as a Volunteer, with the same Courage, in the most perilous Actions, and obtained a principal Command in another of the King's Armies, he never recovered the misfortune and blemish of this Imputation. And yet I must profess for My part, being no stranger to what was then alledged, and proved on either Party, I do believe him to have been free from any base compliance with the Enemy, or any cowardly declension of what was reasonable to be attempted. So fatal are all misfortunes, and so difficult a thing it is to play an after-Game of Reputation, in that nice and jealous profession.

The Inconveniencies, and Mischiefs, that resulted to the King from this accident, were greater than were at that time taken notice of ; for from this, the Factions in Court, Army, and City (which afterwards grew very troublesome to the King) were dated, and took their original ; great Animosities grew between the Officers of the Army ; some being thought to have been too passionate, and solicitous in the prosecution of the Colonel, and too much to have countenanced the rage and fury of Common-Soldiers in demanding Justice on their Officer ; for

B O O K from such a kind of Clamor it begun. Others again
VII. were as much condemned for a palpable avowed
 protection of him, thereby to show their power,
 that a Person They favored, should not suffer;
 and of both these, some were more Violent than they
 should have been; which several Inclinations equally
 possessed the Court, some believing that he was
 really guilty of Treachery, though not so clearly
 proved; and therefore that, being within the Mercy
 of the Law upon another Article, no mercy ought
 to be showed to him; others as really supposing him
 Innocent, and therefore thinking it great pity, severely
 to take the forfeiture, upon such a point, as
 few Officers of the Army did not know Themselves
 guilty in: these supposing the former too full of
 rigor, and uncharitableness; and They again accusing
 the Other of too much lenity, and indulgence;
 whilst many Gentlemen of Honor, and Quality,
 whose Fortunes were embarked with the King, grew
 extremely jealous, that the Parliament had corrupted
 some of the King's Officers with rewards; and that
 others had power to protect them from punishment,
 and discovery; and the Soldiers again as much incensed,
 that their lives must be sacrificed, upon
 Casual, and Accidental trespasses, to the animosity
 and jealousy of those who run not the same dangers
 with them.

But these Indispositions, and Distempers, were
 the effects of the exigents of that time (I wish the
 humors had been impaired when the times mended)
 and very many who saw the King's condition very
 low in an instant, and believed the Rebels to be
 most

most flourishing, would look no farther for a reason, than the loss of *Reading*; though they had All still, but the Town; which was never intended to be kept. It is most certain, that the King himself was so far from believing the condition he was in to be tolerable, that, upon the news of the Earl of *Essex's* advance towards *Oxford*, within four or five days after the loss of *Reading*, he once resolved, and that by the advice of the Chief Officers of his Army, to march away towards the North, to join with the Earl of *New-Castle*. And if the Earl of *Essex* had, at that time, but made any show of moving with his whole Body that way, I do verily persuade myself, *Oxford* itself, and all the other Garrisons of those parts, had been quitted to them; but those fears were quickly composed, by an Assurance of the Earl's stay at *Reading*; and that he was not in a posture for a present march, and that his Numbers had been shrewdly lessened by the Siege: whereupon the King resolved to abide him, and give him Battle about *Oxford*, if he advanced; and, in the mean time, encamped his Foot upon the Down, about a Mile from *Abingdon*; which was the head Quarter for his Horse.

When the Season of the year grew ripe for taking the Field, the Earl of *Essex* found that his too early march had nothing advanced his Affairs; the Soldiers having performed so strict duty; and lodging upon the ground, in frost and rain, before *Reading*, had produced great sickness and diseases in his Army, which had wasted abundance of his Men; so that he wanted rather another Winter-Quarter to recover,

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VIL.

and recruit his Men, than an opportunity to engage them in Action; which he found would be too often administered. He sent daily importunities to the Parliament for supplies of all kinds, which they were not enough furnished with to satisfy him; new Divisions, and Animosities arose There, to perplex their Counsels. Their Triumph upon the taking of *Reading*, which they had celebrated with loud festivity and made the City believe, that all those benefits would attend it, which they knew would be most grateful to them, appeared now without any fruit; the King had all his Forces and Army entire, and had only lost a Town that he never meant to keep, and which They knew not what to do with; and was now ready to come into the Field, when Theirs was destitute of health, and all those accommodations, which must enable them to march: and their General, every day reiterated his complaints, and reproached them with the unskilful Orders they had sent him, by which, against all the Advice and Arguments he had given them, he was reduced to that extremity.

The disrespectful, and absurd breaking off the Treaty with the King, was urged by their Commissioners; who thought themselves disobliged by it, and published the King's gracious disposition, and the temper of the Council in *Oxford*, to be different from what the Parliament desired it should be believed. They complained of Jealousies which had been entertained of their Integrity; and the Earl of *Northumberland* having discovered, as is said before, that *Harry Martin* had opened a Letter, which he

had writ from *Oxford* to his Lady, took him aside, after a conference in the Painted-Chamber between the two Houses, and questioned him upon it; and the other giving him some rude Answers in justification of what he had done, the Earl Cudgelled him in that presence; upon which many Swords were drawn, to the great reproach and scandal of the Parliament.

These, and the like Instances of distraction, and confusion, brought the Reputation of that Party low; and made it looked upon, as like to destroy itself without an Enemy; whilst the King's Party, at that distance, seemed to be more united, and to have recovered their Spirits; of which they received frequent evidence by the News of some of their Quarters being beat up, and many of their Men lost by the unexpected Incurfions of the King's Horse; whereof some Parties, by Night-marches, and unusual Lanes, went often near *London*, and took many Prisoners, who thought themselves secure, in their Houses, and in Journeys they made; who were put to ransom themselves with good Sums of Money; so that, after all those Mountains of promises, and undertakings, the wants were greater, and the City more importuned for Money, and the Parliament visibly more necessitated for want of it, than they had been before; and instead of dispersing the King's Army, and bringing the King back to his Parliament, a sudden direction was given, and a vigorous execution of that direction was begun, to draw a Line about the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and to Fortify it; lest the King's Forces

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might break in upon them; which made the People suspect the State of their Affairs to be worse than in truth it was; yet so far were they from any thoughts of Peace, and Accommodation, that the House of Commons raged more furiously than ever; and every day engaged themselves in conclusions more monstrous, than they had yet entered upon. For the supply of the Charge of the War, they proposed settling and imposing an Excise upon such Commodities as might best bear it; which was a burden the People of *England* had hitherto reproached other Nations with, as a Mark of Slavery, and never feared by themselves; and for the exercise of the Sovereign Power, they Resolved it fit to make a new Great-Seal, to be always resident with the Houses. But the Lords were not yet arrived at that presumption, but plainly refused to concur with them in either.

Whilst both Armies lay quiet, the One about *Reading*, the Other about *Abingdon*, or *Oxford*, without attempting one upon the other, or any Action, save some small Enterprizes by Parties (in which the King got advantage; as particularly the Young Earl of *Northampton* fortunately encountered a Party of Horse and Foot from *Northampton*, which thought themselves strong enough to attempt upon *Banbury*: But he having Routed their Horse, killed above two hundred of their Foot, and took as many more Prisoners, most whereof were shrewdly hurt, the Young Earl that day sacrificing to the Memory of his Father) the King received, from the Earl of *New-Castle*, by a strong Party of Horse, a good and

ample supply of Ammunition ; the want whereof all Men looked upon with great Horror. As soon as this was arrived , and the King had heard , that his Armies , both in the North , and West . begun to flourish , and thought himself well provided to encounter the Earl of *Essex* , if he desired it ; his Majesty resolved once more to try , whether the two Houses would incline to a reasonable Peace ; and to that purpose sent a Message to them by an express Servant of his own , in these words :

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“ Since his Majesty’s Message of the 12th of *April* (in which he conceived he had made such an Overture for the immediate disbanding of all Armies , and compofure of those miserable , and present Distractions , by a full and free Convention of Parliament , that a perfect and settled Peace would have ensued) hath in all this time , above a full Month , procured no Answer from both Houses , his Majesty might well believe himself absolved , both before God and Man , from the least possible Charge of not having used his utmost endeavours for Peace ; yet , when he considers , that the Scene of all this Calamity is in the Bowels of his own Kingdom ; that all the blood , which is spilt , is of his own Subjects ; and that what Victory soever , it shall please God to give him , must be over those who ought not to have lifted up their hands against Him ; when he considers , that these desperate Civil Dissensions may encourage and invite a Foreign Enemy , to make a Prey of the whole Nation ; that *Ireland* is in present danger to be totally lost ; that the heavy Judgments

The King
sends a Mes-
sage to the
two Houses
May 20.

BOOK VII. " of God, Plague, Pestilence, and Famine, will
" be the inevitable attendants of this unnatural Con-
" tention : And that in a short time, there will be
" so general a habit of Uncharitableness, and Cruelty,
" contracted through the whole Kingdom, that
" even Peace itself will not restore his People to
" their old Temper, and Security; his Majesty
" cannot but again call for an Answer to that his
" gracious Message, which gives so fair a rise to end
" these unnatural distractions. And his Majesty
" doth this with the more earnestness, because he
" doubts not the condition of his Armies in several
" parts; the strength of Horse, Foot, Artillery,
" his plenty of Ammunition (when some Men lately
" might conceive he wanted) is so well known,
" and understood, that it must be confessed, nothing
" but the tenderness, and love to his People, and
" those Christian impressions, which always live,
" and he hopes always shall dwell in his heart, could
" move him once more to hazard a refusal. And he
" requires them, as they will Answer to God, to
" Himself, and all the World, that they will no
" longer suffer their fellow Subjects to welter in each
" other's blood; that they would remember by whose
" Authority, and to what end they met in that
" Council and send such an Answer to his Majesty,
" as may open a door to let in a firm Peace, and
" Security to the whole Kingdom. If his Majesty
" shall again be disappointed of his Intentions there-
" in, the blood, rapine, and destruction, which
" may follow in *England*, and *Ireland*, will be cast

" upon the Account of those who are deaf to the
 " motive of Peace and Accommodation." B O O K
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This Message was received by the House of Peers (to whom it was directed) with all demonstration of respect, and duty, and the Messenger very civilly treated by them; but when they communicated it to the House of Commons, and desired their concurrence in preparing an Address to the King suitable to his gracious Invitation, that House was so far from concurring with them, that they gave immediate Order (which was executed accordingly) for the Apprehension, and Commitment of the Gentleman who brought the Message; and declared, "that
 " they would proceed against him at a Council of
 " War," upon the Order formerly mentioned, The House
of Commons
commit the
Messenger.
 made by them when the Treaty was at *Oxford*,
 " that any Person coming from *Oxford* without their
 " General's Pass, or one from the Houses, should
 " be punished as a Spy;" to which Order as the Peers never consented, so the King had never, till this Commitment, notice of it; and Themselves, after the making it, had sent several Messengers to the King, without any formality of Pass or Trumpet.

The Lords did what they could, publicly and privately, to dissuade this course; but they could not prevail: the House of Commons finding that the very imagination that a Peace might be concluded, infinitely retarded their carrying on the War, and made not only those who were yet free, not easy to be drawn in; but many who were engaged, remiss, and willing to retire; therefore they resolved to proceed with that Vigor, and Resolution, that no

B O O K reasonable Man should believe it possible for the
VII. King to gain a Peace but by Subduing Them, which
 seemed at least equally impossible. To this purpose,
 instead of returning an Answer to the King's Mes-
 sage, within three days after the receiving it, they
 impeached the Queen of High-Treason, "for Af-
 fitting the King her Husband with Arms, and
 "Ammunition, in the prosecution of the War
 "against Them;" an Attempt as unheard of among
 all the Acts of their Predecessors, and as surprising
 as any thing they had yet ventured upon: Their
 Clergy sounded their Trumpets louder to War than
 ever, if it was possible; and they resolved, that
 Assembly of Divines to which they had at the Treaty
 urged the King's consent, should now meet by an
 Ordinance of their own, with an Addition of some
 Members of either House to that Number.

The Commons
 impeach the
 Queen of High-
 Treason.

There had been, some Months before, a design
 of Prince *Rupert* upon the City of *Bristol*, by corres-
 pondence with some of the chief Inhabitants of the
 City, who were weary of the Tyranny of the Parlia-
 ment; but it had been so unskilfully, or unhappily
 carried, that, when the Prince was near the Town,
 with such a Party of Horse and Foot, as he made
 choice of, it was discovered, and many Principal
 Citizens apprehended by *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Son to
 the Lord *Say*, and then Governor of that City for
 the Parliament; at this time, special direction and
 order was sent thither, "that he should, with all
 "severity, and expedition, proceed against those
 "Conspirators" (as they called them) and thereupon,
 by a Sentence and Judgment of a Council of War,

Alderman *Yeomans*, who had been High-Sheriff of the City, and of great Reputation in it, and *George Bouchier* another Citizen of principal Account, were (against all Interposition his Majesty could make) both hanged, and all other imaginable Acts done, to let all the world see that there was no way to Peace but by the Sword.

There fell out now an accident at *London*, which gave great advantage to them in the fierce prosecution of the War, a discovery of a Plot, which produced a public thanksgiving to God for their deliverance, a wonderful Animosity against the King, and a Covenant, and Union among Themselves, and throughout the City a prejudice to all Moderate Men, who promoted an Accommodation, and a Brand upon all Overtures of Peace as Stratagems upon the City, and the Parliament. Of this Plot, there being never such a formed relation made by those who made great use of it, that Men can collect what the design was, or that it was laid with any probable circumstances, by which a success might be expected, I shall briefly, and faithfully set down all that I know, have heard, or can reasonably conjecture to be in it; and it was thought by many, and averred by others who I believe did Not think so, "that I knew as much of it as most Men."

A design discovered at London, whereio Mr. Waller, Mr. Tomkins, and Others, were concerned.

There was of the House of Commons, one Mr. *Waller*, a Gentleman of a very good Fortune and Estate, and of admirable parts, and faculties of Wit and Eloquence, and of an intimate Conversation, and familiarity with those who had that Reputation. He had, from the beginning of the Parliament, been

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looked upon by all Men, as a Person of very entire Affections to the King's Service, and to the established Government of Church and State; and by having no manner of relation to the Court, had the more credit and interest to promote the rights of it. When the ruptures grew so great between the King and the two Houses, that very many of the Members withdrew from those Councils, He, among the rest, with equal dislike absented himself; but at the time the Standard was set up, having intimacy and friendship with some Persons now of nearness about the King, with the King's Approbation, he returned again to *London*; where he spoke, upon all occasions, with great sharpness, and freedom; which (now there were so few there that used it, and there was no danger of being over Voted) was not restrained; and therefore used as an Argument against those, who were gone upon pretence "that they were not" suffered to declare their opinion freely in the "House; which could not be believed, when all" Men knew, what Liberty Mr. *Waller* took, and "spoke every day with impunity, against the Sense, "and Proceedings of the House." This won him a great Reputation with all People who wished well to the King; and he was looked upon as the boldest Champion the Crown had in both Houses; so that such Lords, and Commons, as really desired to prevent the ruin of the Kingdom, willingly complied in a great familiarity with him, as a Man resolute in their ends, and best able to promote them. And it may be they believed his Reputation at Court so good, that he would be no ill Evidence There, of

other Men's Zeal, and Affection; and so all Men spoke their minds freely to him, both of the general distemper, and of the passions, and ambition of particular Persons: All Men knowing him to be of too good a Fortune, and too wary a Nature, to engage himself in designs of danger or hazard. BOOK
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Mr. Waller had a Brother-in-Law, one Mr. *Tomkins*, who had married his Sister, and was Clerk of the Queen's Council, of very good fame for Honesty, and Ability. This Gentleman had good Interest, and Reputation in the City, and conversed much with those who disliked the proceedings of the Parliament, and wished to live under the same Government they were born; and from those Citizens received information of the temper of the People, upon Accidents, in the public Affairs. And Mr. *Waller*, and He, with that confidence that uses to be between Brethren of the same good Affections, frequently imparted their observations, and opinions to each other; the one relating, how many in both Houses inclined to Peace; and the other making the same judgment upon the correspondence he had, and intelligence he received from the most substantial Men of *London*; and both of them again communicated what one received from the other, to the Company they used to converse with; Mr. *Waller* imparting the wishes, and power of the well affected Party in the City, to the Lords and Gentlemen whom he knew to be of the same mind; and Mr. *Tomkins* acquainting those he durst trust of the City, that such and such Lords and Gentlemen, who were of special Note, were weary of the distractions, and

B O O K would heartily, and confidently contribute to such
VII. an honorable, and honest Peace, as all Men knew
 would be most acceptable to the King. And from
 hence they came reasonably to a conclusion, that if
 some means were found out to raise a confidence in
 those who wished well, that they should not be op-
 pressed by the extravagant power of the desperate
 Party; but that if they would so far assist one another,
 as to declare their opinions to be the same, they
 should be able to prevent, or suppress those Tumults,
 which seemed to countenance the distractions; and
 the Houses would be induced to Terms of Mo-
 deration.

In this time the Lord *Conway*, being returned from
Ireland, incensed against the *Scots*, and discontented
 with the Parliament here, finding Mr. *Waller* in good
 esteem with the Earl of *Northumberland*, and of great
 Friendship with the Earl of *Portland*, he entered into
 the same familiarity; and, being more of a Soldier,
 in the discourses administered questions, and consi-
 derations, necessary to be understood by Men that
 either meant to Use force, or to Resist it; and wished
 “ that they who had Interest, and Acquaintance in the
 “ City, would endeavour by a natural correspond-
 “ ence to inform themselves of the distinct Affect-
 “ ions of their Neighbours, that upon any exigent,
 “ Men might foresee whom they might trust;” and
 these discourses being again derived by Mr. *Waller* to
 Mr. *Tomkins*, He, upon occasion, and conference
 with his Companions, insisted on the same Argu-
 ments; and They again conversing with Their
 Friends, and Acquaintance (for of all this business,

there were not above three who ever spoke together) agreed, " that some well affected Persons, in every Parish, and Ward, about *London*, should make a list of all the Inhabitants; and thereupon to make a reasonable guess of their several Affections" (which at that time was no hard thing for observing Men to do) and thence a computation of the Strength, and Power of that Party, which was notoriously Violent against any Accommodation.

I am persuaded the utmost project in this design was (I speak not what particular Men might intend, or wish upon their own fancies) to beget such a Combination among the Party well affected, that they would refuse to conform to those Ordinances of the twentieth part, and other Taxes for the support of the War; and thereby, or by joint Petitioning for Peace, and discountenancing the other who Petitioned against it, to prevail with the Parliament to incline to a determination of the War. And it may be, some Men might think of making advantage of any Casual Commotion, or preventing any mischief by it; and thereupon that inquiry where the Magazines lay, and discourse of wearing some distinguishing tokens, had been rather casually mentioned, than seriously proposed. For it is certain, very many who were conscious to themselves of Loyal Purposes to the King, and of hearty dislike of the Parliament's proceedings, and observed the violent, revengeful, ruining prosecution of all Men, by those of the engaged Party; were not without sad apprehensions that, upon some Jealousy, and Quarrel picked, even a general Massacre might be attempted of all the

R O O R King's Friends; and thereupon, in several discourses,
VII. might touch upon such expedients, as might in those
 Seasons be most beneficial to their safety. But that
 there was ever any formed design, either of letting
 in the King's Army into *London*, which was impossi-
 ble to be contrived; or of raising an Army there, and
 surprizing the Parliament, or any one Person of it,
 or of using any violence in, or upon the City, I could
 never yet see cause to believe; and if there had, they
 would have published such a relation of it, after Mr.
Waller had confessed to them, all he knew, had
 heard, or fancied to himself, as might have consti-
 tuted some reasonable understanding, of it; and not
 have contented themselves with making conclusions
 from Questions that had been asked, and Answers
 made, by Persons unknown, and forcing expres-
 sions used by one, to relate to Actions of another,
 between whom there had been never the least ac-
 quaintance, or correspondence; and joining what
 was Said at *London* to somewhat Done at *Oxford*, at
 another time, and to another purpose: for before I
 finish this discourse, it will be necessary to speak of
 another Action, which, how distinct soever from this
 that is related, was woven together to make one Plot.

From the King's coming to *Oxford*, many Citizens
 of good Quality, who were prosecuted, or jealously
 looked upon in *London*, had resorted to the King,
 and hoping, if the Winter produced not a Peace,
 that the Summer would carry the King before that
 City with an Army, they had entertained some dis-
 course "of raising, upon their own Stocks of Money
 " and Credit, some Regiments of Foot, and Horse,

“ and joining with some Gentlemen of *Kent*, who
 “ were likewise inclined to such an undertaking:”
 Among these was Sir *Nicholas Crisp*, a Citizen of good
 Wealth, great Trade, and an active spirited Man,
 who had been lately prosecuted with great severity
 by the House of Commons, and had thereupon fled
 from *London*, for appearing too great a Stickler in a
 Petition for Peace in the City. This Gentleman in-
 dustriously preserved a correspondence still there,
 by which he gave the King often very useful Intelli-
 gence, and assured him “ of a very considerable
 “ Party, which would appear there for him, when-
 “ ever his own power should be so near, as to give
 “ them any countenance.” In the end, whether in-
 vited by his Correspondents there, or trusting his
 own sprightly inclinations and resolutions too much,
 and concluding all who were equally Honest, would
 be equally Bold, he desired his Majesty, “ to grant
 “ a Commission to such Persons, whom He would
 “ nominate of the City of *London*, under the Great
 “ Seal of *England*, in the nature of a Commission of
 “ Array, by virtue whereof, when the Season should
 “ come, his Party there would appear in discipline,
 “ and order; and that this was desired by those, who
 “ best knew what Countenance and Authority was
 “ requisite; and being trusted to them would not be
 “ executed at all, or else at such a time as his Majesty
 “ should receive ample fruit by it; provided it were
 “ done with secrecy, equal to the hazard They
 “ should run who were employed in it.”

The King had this exception to it, “ the impro-
 “ bability that it could do good, and that the failing

BOOK VII. " might do hurt to the Undertakers." But the Promoter was a very Popular Man in the City, where he had been a Commander of the Trained-bands, till the Ordinance of the Mibria removed him; which rather improved, than lessened, his Credit; and he was very confident, it would produce a notable advantage to the King: however, They desired it who were there, and would not appear without it; and therefore the King consented to it; referring the nomination of all Persons in the Commission to him; who, he verily believed, had proceeded by the Instruction, and Advice of those that were nearest the concernment; and for the secrecy of it, the King referred the preparing, and despatch of the Commission, to Sir *Nicholas Crisp* himself, who should acquaint no more with it, than he found requisite; so without the privity, or advice of any Counsellor, or Minister of State then most trusted by his Majesty, he procured such a Commission as he desired (being no other than the Commission of Array in *English*) to be signed by the King, and sealed with the Great Seal.

This being done, and remaining still in his Custody, the Lady *Aubigney* by a Pass, and with the content of the Houses, came to *Oxford*, to transact the Affairs of her own Fortune with the King upon the death of her Husband, who was killed at *Edge-hill*, and She having in few days despatched her business there, and being ready to return, Sir *Nicholas Crisp* came to the King, and besought him, " to desire that Lady (who had a Pass, and so could promise herself safety in her Journey) to carry a small Box (in which that Commission should be) " with her, and to keep it
in

“ in her own Custody, until a Gentleman should
 “ call to her Ladyship for it, by such a token;” that
 token, he said, “ he could send to one of the Persons
 “ trusted, who should keep it by him: till the op-
 “ portunity came in which it might be executed.”
 The King accordingly wished the Lady *Aubigny*, to
 carry it with great care and secrecy; telling her, “ it
 “ much concerned his own Service;” and to deliver
 it in such manner, and upon such Assurance, as is
 before mentioned: which she did, and, within few
 days after her return to *London*, delivered it to a
 Person who was appointed to call for it. How this
 Commission was discovered, I could never learn:
 for though Mr. *Waller* had the Honor to be admitted
 often to that Lady, and was believed by Her to be a
 Gentleman of most entire Affections to the King’s
 Service, and consequently might be fitly trusted with
 what she knew, yet her Ladyship herself not knowing
 what it was she carried, could not inform any
 Body else.

But about this time, a Servant of Mr. *Tomkins*,
 who had often cursorily overheard his Master and
 Mr. *Waller* discourse of the Argument, We are now
 upon, placed himself behind a hanging, at a time
 they were together; and there, whilst either of them
 discoursed the language, and opinion of the Com-
 pany they kept, overheard enough to make him
 believe his Information, and Discovery, would make
 him welcome to those whom he thought concerned;
 and so went to Mr. *Pym*, and acquainted him with
 all he had heard, or probably imagined. The time
 when Mr. *Pym* was made acquainted with it, is not

BOOK VII. known; but the circumstances of the publishing it were such, as filled all Men with Apprehensions. It was on *Wednesday* the 31st of *May*, their solemn fast-day, when, being all at their Sermon, in *St. Margaret's Church* in *Westminster*; according to their custom, a Letter or Message is brought privately to *Mr. Pym*; who thereupon, with some of the most active Members, rise from their Seats; and, after a little whispering together, remove out of the Church: This could not but exceedingly affect those who stayed behind; immediately they send Guards to all the Prisons, as *Lambeth House*, *Ely-House*, and such places, where their Malignants were in Custody, with directions "to search the Prisoners; and some other places which they thought fit should be suspected. After the Sermons were ended the Houses met; and were only then told, " that Letters were intercepted going to the King and the Court at *Oxford*, " that expressed some notable Conspiracy in hand, " to deliver up the Parliament, and the City into the " hands of the Cavaliers; and that the time for the " execution of it, drew very near." Hereupon a Committee was appointed " to examine all Persons " they thought fit: and to apprehend some nominated at that time." And the same Night, this Committee apprehended *Mr. Waller*, and *Mr. Tomlins*; and the next day, such others as they suspected. *Mr. Waller* was so confounded with Fear, and Apprehension, that he confessed whatever he had said, heard, thought, or seen; all that he knew of himself, and all that he suspected of others; without concealing any Person of what Degree, or Quality

soever, or any discourse that he had ever, upon any occasion, entertained with them: What such and such Ladies of great Honor, to whom, upon the Credit of his great Wit, and very good Reputation, he had been admitted, had spoke to him in their Chambers of the proceedings in the Houses; and how they had encouraged him to oppose them, what correspondence, and intercourse they had, with some Ministers of State at *Oxford*; and how they derived all Intelligence thither. He informed them, “ that the Earl of *Portland*, and the Lord *Conway*, “ had been particular in all the agitations which had “ been with the Citizens; and had given frequent “ Advice, and Directions, how they should demean “ themselves; and that the Earl of *Northumberland*, “ had expressed very good wishes to any attempt, “ that might give a stop to the Violent Actions, and “ Proceedings of the Houses, and produce a good “ Understanding with the King.”

When the Committee were thus furnished, they took the examinations of Mr. *Tomkins*, and such others as they thought necessary, and having at the same time, by some other means, discovered (or concealed it till this time) that Commission which is before discoursed of, and gotten the very Original into their hands, they kneaded both into one Plot, and Conspiracy; and, acquainting the Houses with so much as they thought yet seasonable to publish, they declared (without naming any Lords, or other Persons, to be interested in the design, save those only who were imprisoned; among whom the Lady *Aubigny* was one: and without communicating any

BOOK VII. of the examinations, which, they pretended, were not to be common till the Conspirators were brought to Trial) “that the Original of this Conspiracy was “from the late *London*. Petition for Peace, which was spoken of about *Christmas* last in the Book precedent; “and that, under pretence of Peace and “Moderation, a Party was to be formed, which “should be able to suppress all opponents, and to “awe the Parliament: That, to this purpose, some “of those who were the principal Movers, and Formers of that Petition, did continue, in the “Nature of a Committee, still to carry on the “design: that they held Intelligence in both Armies, Court and Parliament; took a general Survey of the Numbers, and Affections of the several “Inhabitants throughout the Wards, and Parishes “of the City, and places adjacent; and distinguished “all under the titles of Men affected, or averse to “the King; or indifferent, and Neutral Persons, “carried only by the success, and power of the Prevailers: That they were well instructed in the “Number, and inclinations of the Trained-bands “of *London*; the Places where the Magazines were “kept; where the Commanders for the Parliament dwelt; had thought of places for Rendezvous, “and Retreat, upon any occasion, and of Colors, “and Marks of distinction between the different “Parties.

“That Mr. *Waller* and Mr. *Tomkins* were the “principal Persons, employed, and trusted to give “advertisement to, and correspond with, the King’s “Ministers at *Oxford*; and receive advertisements

“ and Commands from thence, for the completing
 “ the work; that they Two held constant Intelli-
 “ gence, and Intercourse with the Lord *Falkland*
 “ then principal Secretary to the King; and that,
 “ from Him, they received the signification of the
 “ King’s pleasure; and that those Directions, Coun-
 “ sels, and Encouragements, had been principally
 “ sent by those Messengers which had been em-
 “ ployed by his Majesty to the Parliament, under
 “ the pretence of Peace; and, especially, by Mr.
 “ *Alexander Hambden*; who came with the last Mes-
 “ sage, and was a Cousin-german to Mr. *Waller*.
 “ That the Lady *Aubigney*, who had been lately at
 “ *Oxford*, had brought thence a Commission to them
 “ from the King, by force of Arms to destroy, kill,
 “ and slay the Forces, raised by the Parliament and
 “ their Adherents, as Traytors and Rebels; and
 “ that they had lately sent a Message to *Oxford* by
 “ one *Hassel*, a Servant of the King’s to acquaint the
 “ Lord *Falkland*, that the design was come to a good
 “ perfection; unto which, Answer was returned,
 “ that they should hasten it with all speed.”

“ That the particulars of the Design appeared to
 “ be: 1. To seize into their Custody the King’s
 “ Children: 2. To seize several Members of both
 “ Houses, the Lord-Mayor, and Committee of the
 “ Militia, under pretence of bringing them to a legal
 “ Trial. 3. To seize upon the Out-works, Forts,
 “ Tower of *London*, Magazines, Gates, and other
 “ places of importance in the City. 4. To let in the
 “ King’s Forces to surprise the City, and to destroy
 “ all those who should oppose them by Authority of

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" the Parliament. 5. By force of Arms to resist all
" payments imposed by Authority of Parliament,
" raised for the support of the Armies employed for
" their just defence, &c. to suspend, if not alter the
" whole Government of the City, and. with Assist-
" ance of the King's Force, to awe, and master the
" Parliament."

When both Houses were awakened, and startled
with this report, the first thing agreed on, was,
" a day of thanksgiving to God for this wonderful
" delivery;" which shut out any future doubts,
and disquisitions, whether there had been any such
delivery; and, consequently, whether their Plot
was in truth, or had been so framed. Then it was
said, " that as the design was the most desperate,
" so the carriage was the most subtle, and among
" Persons of Reputation, and not suspected; and
" that there was reason to suspect, many Members
" of both Houses were privy to it; and therefore
" there ought to be all possible care taken to make
" the discovery perfect, and to unite themselves for
" the public defence: that if any part were left un-
" discovered. it might prove fatal to the Common-
" wealth." This finding a full consent, it was pro-
pounded, " that a Protestation might be drawn up,
" by which every Member of the two Houses might
" purge himself from any guilt of, or privy in,
" that conspiracy; and likewise oblige himself to
" resist, and oppose any such Combination" They
who were under the Character of Moderate Men,
and usually advanced all motions of Peace, and
Accommodation, durst not oppose the Expedient,

left they should be concluded guilty ; most of them having had familiarity with Mr. *Waller*, and, no doubt, upon sundry occasions, spoken with that freedom to him, as might very well incur a severe Interpretation, if, upon this occasion, what they had said should be scanned. And so, before the rising, there was framed by the House of Commons. a Vow and Covenant to be taken by the Members of both Houses, and afterwards by the City, and their Army ; for their Jealousy was now spread over all their own Quarters ; which Covenant, for the rareness of it both in Title and Style, I think necessary here to insert in the very terms ; which were these :

A Vow and Covenant agreed to be taken by the Members of both Houses upon discovery of that design

A Sacred Vow, and Covenant, taken by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, upon the discovery of the late horrid and treacherous design, for the destruction of this Parliament and the Kingdom: the 6th of June 1643.

“ Whereas there hath been, and now is, in this Kingdom, a Popish, and Trayterous Plot for the Subversion of the true Protestant Reformed Religion, and the Liberty of the Subject ; and, in pursuance thereof, a Popish Army hath been raised and is now on foot in divers parts of this Kingdom ; and whereas there hath been a treacherous and horrid design, lately discovered by the great blessing and especial providence of God, of divers Persons, to join themselves with the Armies raised by the King, and to destroy the Forces raised by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, to surprise the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*

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“ with the Suburbs; by Arms to force the Parlia-
“ ment; and finding by constant experience, that
“ many ways of force, and treachery, are conti-
“ nually attempted, to bring to utter ruin and des-
“ truction the Parliament, and Kingdom; and that
“ which is dearest, the true Protestant Religion:
“ And that, for the preventing and withstanding
“ the same, it is fit, that all, who are true-hearted,
“ and lovers of their Country, should bind them-
“ selves each to other in a sacred Vow and Covenant,
“ I *A. B.* in humility, and reverence of the Divine
“ Majesty, declare my hearty sorrow for my own
“ Sins, and the Sins of this Nation, which have
“ deserved the Calamities, and Judgments, that
“ now lie upon it; and my true Intention is, by
“ God’s grace, to endeavour the amendment of my
“ own ways; and I do farther, in the presence of
“ Almighty God, Declare, Vow, and Covenant,
“ that, in order to the security and preservation of
“ the true Reformed Protestant Religion, and
“ Liberty of the Subject, I will not consent to the
“ laying down of Arms, so long as the Papists,
“ now in open War against the Parliament, shall by
“ force of Arms be protected from the Justice there-
“ of. And that I do abhor and detest the said wicked,
“ and treacherous design, lately discovered: And
“ that I never gave, nor will give my Assent to the
“ execution thereof, but will, according to my
“ Power, and Vocation, oppose and resist the
“ same, and all other of the like Nature. And in
“ case any other like design shall hereafter come to
“ my knowledge, I will make such timely discovery,

“ as I shall conceive may best conduce to the pre-
 “ venting thereof. And whereas I do in my con-
 “ science believe, that the Forces, raised by the
 “ two Houses of Parliament, are raised, and con-
 “ tinued for their just Defence, and for the Defence
 “ of the true Protestant Religion, and Liberty of
 “ the Subject, against the Forces raised by the King;
 “ that I will, according to my Power, and Voca-
 “ tion, assist the Forces raised and continued, by
 “ both Houses of Parliament, against the Forces
 “ raised by the King without Their consent: And
 “ will likewise assist all other Persons that shall take
 “ this Oath, in what they shall do in pursuance
 “ thereof; and will not directly, or indirectly, ad-
 “ here unto, nor shall willingly assist the Forces,
 “ raised by the King, without the Consent of both
 “ Houses of Parliament. And this Vow, and Cove-
 “ nant, I make in the presence of Almighty God,
 “ the Searcher of all hearts, with a true Intention to
 “ perform the same, as I shall Answer at the great
 “ day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be
 “ disclosed.”

Though many were much startled at this Cove-
 nant, and took time to consider of it, there being
 in the Preamble, and positive part, much which
 very few believed, and in the promissory part a
 more direct denouncing War against the King, than
 had been in plain terms before avowed by them,
 and an absolute Protestation against Peace, till the
 King were at their Mercy; yet the fear of being con-
 cluded guilty of the Plot, made them swallow all
 the rest; and the example of one prevailing with

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The same Vow
and Covenant
taken
throughout
the City, and
Army.

many, there was not a Member of either House that took it not; and being thus fettered, and intangled themselves, they sent their Committee into the City, to acquaint them with their "happy discovery," and how miraculously God had preserved them, "and to engage them in the same sacred Vow, and Covenant," which was readily submitted to; and, by the Industry of their Clergy, sooner than can be imagined, taken throughout that People. Then it was, with equal diligence, and solemnity, transmitted to their Army, that their Fears of Inconvenience from thence might be likewise purged; and thence it grew the mark of distinction, to know their Friends and Enemies by; and whosoever refused to take that Covenant, needed no other Charge to be concluded, and prosecuted, as the highest Malignant.

The Trial, and
Execution of
Mr. Tomkins,
and Mr.
Chaloner.

Being this way secure from any future Clamors for Peace, they proceeded to try Mr. *Tomkins*; Mr. *Chaloner*, a Citizen of good Wealth and Credit, and most intimate with *Tomkins*; Mr. *Hambden*, who brought the last Message from the King; one *Hassel* a Messenger of the King's, who passed often between *London* and *Oxford*, and sometimes carried Letters and Messages to the Lord *Falkland*; and some Citizens, whose names were in the Commission sent from *Oxford*; by a Council of War; by whom Mr. *Tomkins*, and Mr. *Chaloner* were Condemned to be hanged; and were both, with all circumstances of severity, and cruelty, executed: the One, on a Gibbet, by his own House in *Holborn*; where he had long lived with singular estimation; and the Other, by his House in *Cornhill*, near the old *Exchange*.

Hassel the Messenger saved them farther trouble, and died in Prison the night before his Trial: And there being no evidence against Mr. *Hambden*, but what Mr. *Waller* himself gave, they gave no judgment against Him, but kept him long after in Prison, till he died; neither proceeded they Capitally against those Citizens whose names were in the Commission, it not appearing that their names were used with their consent, and privity; though the brand of being Malignants served the turn for their undoing; for all their Estates were seized, as theirs were who had been executed.

There is nothing clearer than that the Commission sent from *Oxford* by the Lady *Aubigny*, had not any relation to the discourse passed between Mr. *Waller*, *Tomkins*, and those Citizens, or that they, who knew of one, had not any privity with the other: which if they had had, and intended such an Insurrection, as was alledged, Mr. *Waller*, and Mr. *Tomkins*, or some one of those Lords who were supposed to combine with them, would have been in the Commission. Or if the King's Ministers had been engaged in the consultation, and hoped to have raised a Party which should suddenly seize upon the City, and the Parliament, they would never have thought a Commission granted to some Gentlemen at *Oxford* (for the Major part of the Commissioners were there) and a few private Citizens, would have served for that work. I am very confident, and I have very much reason for that confidence, that there was no more known, or thought of at *Oxford*, concerning the matter of the Commission,

BOOK VII. than I have before set 'forth, nor of the other, than that Mr. *Tonkins* sometimes writ to the Lord *Falkland* (for Mr. *Waller*, out of the cautiousness of his own Nature, never writ word) and by Messengers signified to him, "that the Number of those who desired Peace, and abhorred the proceedings of the Houses, was very considerable; and that they resolved, by refusing to contribute to the War, and to submit to their Ordinances, to declare and manifest themselves in that manner, that the Violent Party in the City should not have credit enough to hinder any Accommodation." And the Lord *Falkland* always returned Answer, "that they should expedite those Expedients, as soon as might be, for that delays made the War more difficult to be restrained." And if I could find Evidence, or Reason, to induce me to believe, that there was any farther design in the thing itself, or that the King gave farther countenance to it, I should not at all conceal it. No Man can imagine, that if the King could have entertained any probable hope of reducing *London*, which was the Fomenter Supporter, and indeed the Life of the War, or could have found any expedient, from whence he could reasonably propose to dissolve, scatter, and disperse those who, under the name of a Parliament, had kindled a War against him, but he would have given his utmost assistance, and countenance thereunto, either by public Force, or private Contrivance.

There were very great endeavours used, to have proceeded with equal severity against the Earl of *Portland*, and the Lord *Conway* { for the accusation

of the Earl of *Northumberland*, it was proceeded tenderly in; for though the Violent Party was heartily incensed against him, as a Man weary of them, yet his Reputation was still very great) who were both close Prisoners; and, to that purpose, their Lordships and Mr. *Waller* were confronted before the Committee, where They as peremptorily denying, as He charging them, and there being no other Witnesses but He against them, the prosecution was rather let alone than declined, till after a long restraint they procured enlargement upon Bail. Mr. *Waller* himself (though confessedly the most guilty; and by his unhappy demeanour, in this time of his Affliction, he had raised as many Enemies as he had formerly Friends, and almost the same) after he had, with incredible dissimulation, acted such a remorse of Conscience, that his Trial was put off out of Christian compassion, till he might recover his understanding (and that was not, till the heat, and fury of the Prosecutors, was reasonably abated with the Sacrifices they had made) and, by drawing Visitants to himself, of the most powerful Ministers of all Factions, had, by his liberality, and penitence, his receiving vulgar and vile sayings from them with humility, and reverence, as clearer Convictions and Informations than in his Life he had ever had; and distributing great Sums to them for their Prayers, and Ghostly Counsel, so satisfied Them, that They satisfied others; was brought, at his suit, to the House of Commons-Bar; where (being a Man in truth very powerful in Language; and who, by What he spoke, and in the Manner of speaking it,

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exceedingly captivated the good Will and Benevolence of his hearers; which is the highest part of an Orator) with such flattery, as was most exactly calculated to that Meridian, with such a Submission, as Their Pride took delight in, and such dejection of mind, and spirit, as was like to cozen the Major part, and be thought serious; he laid before them “ their own danger, and concernment; if they “ should suffer one of their own Body, how unworthy and monstrous soever, to be tried by the “ Soldiers, who might thereby grow to that power “ hereafter, that they would both try those, They “ would not be willing should be tried, and for “ things, which they would account No Crimes; “ the inconvenience, and insupportable mischief “ whereof, all wise Common-wealths had foreseen, “ and prevented, by exempting their own Members “ from all judgments but their own: He prevailed, Not to be tried by a Council of War; and thereby preserved his dear-bought Life; so that, in truth, he does as much owe the Keeping his head to that Oration, as *Catiline* did the Loss of His to those of *Tully*; and by having done Ill very well, he, by degrees, drew that respect to his parts, which always carries some compassion to the Person, that he got leave to compound for his transgression, and them to accept of ten thousand pounds (which their Affairs wanted) for his liberty; whereupon he had leave to recollect himself in another Country (for his Liberty was to be in Banishment) how miserable he had made himself, in obtaining that leave to live out of his own. And there cannot be a greater Evidence

of the inestimable Value of his Parts, than that he lived, after this, in the good Affection, and Esteem of many, the pity of most, and the reproach, and scorn of few, or none.

These high proceedings, at *London*, and in the Houses, were not seconded with any notable success abroad: but it appeared plainly, by the slow coming in of Monies, and more slow coming in of Men, that the hearts of the People were generally more devoted to Peace, than to the continuance of those distractions; and the Earl of *Essex*, by the great decay, and sickness of his Army, was not in near six weeks, able to remove from *Reading*; by which many Men concluded, which could not be reasonably foreseen, that if *Reading* had held out many days longer, he would have been compelled to raise his Siege; and that was the reason the Earl gave for granting so good conditions: for if he could have stayed longer before it, he well knew, they must have yielded on worse terms; neither feared he the King would be able to relieve it. In the end, there being no other way to quiet the City of *London*, he marched towards *Oxford*; but, in truth, rather to secure *Buckinghamshire*, which was now infested by the King's Horse, than to disquiet that place. And to that purpose, he fixed his head Quarter at *Thame*, ten Miles from *Oxford*, and upon the very edge of the other County.

The Earl of
Essex marches
to *Thame*.

In the beginning of the War, the Army in *Scotland* having been lately disbanded, many Officers of that Nation, who had served in *Germany* and in *France*, betook themselves to the Service of the Parliament;

B O O K VII. whereof divers were Men of good Conduct, and Courage; though there were more as bad as the Cause in which they engaged. Of the former fort Colonel *Urry* was a Man of Name, and Reputation, and an excellent Officer of Horse, and had Commanded those Horse at *Edge-Hill* under *Balfour*, which had preserved their Army there; and finding himself afterwards not so well regarded, 'as, he thought, he had deserved, as it was no easy thing to value that People at the rate they did set upon themselves; and being without any other Affection for their Service, than their Pay inclined him to, he resolved to quit them, and to go to the King; in order to which, he had kept some correspondence with the Earl of *Brainford* the King's General; under whose Command he had formerly served in *Germany*. Whilst the Earl of *Essex* remained at *Thame*, and his Army Quartered thereabout, *Urry* came to *Oxford*, in the Equipage that became a Colonel of Horse who had received good Pay; and the very next day after he came, having been very graciously received by the King, to give proof that he brought his whole heart with him, he went to Prince *Rupert*, acquainted him where the Parliament-Horse lay, and how loose they were in their Quarters; and to give a testimony of his fidelity to the King, he desired to march a Volunteer with a good Party, to make an attempt upon the Enemy; and the Prince assigning a strong Party for the Service, he accompanied, and conducted them out of the Common-Road, till they came to a Town, where a Regiment of the Parliament's Horse was Quartered; which they beat up;

up; and killed, or took most of the Officers and Soldiers; and then fell upon those other Quarters, by which they had passed before, with the like success; so returned to *Oxford* with many Prisoners, and with notable damage to the Enemy.

As soon as he returned, he made another Proposition to the Prince for the Attacking the Quarters near *Thame*; through which he had passed, when he came to *Oxford*, and so was well acquainted with the posture in which they were, and assured the Prince, "that, if he went about it time enough, before there should be any alteration in their Quarters, which he believed the General would quickly

"make, the Enterprize would be worthy of it." The Prince was so well satisfied with what he had already done, that he resolved to conduct the next adventure himself, which he did very fortunately.

Prince Rupert
beats up some
of his Quarters
with good
success.

They went out of the Ports of *Oxford* in the Evening upon a *Saturday*, and marched beyond all the Quarters as far as *Wickham*, and fell in there at the farther end of the Town towards *London*, from whence no Enemy was expected, and so no Guards were kept There. A Regiment of Horse, and of Foot, were Lodged there; which were cut off, or taken Prisoners; and all the Horses and a good Booty brought away. From thence they marched backward to another Quarter, within less than two Miles of the General's own Quarters; where his Men Lodged with the same security, they had done at *Wickham*, not expecting any Enemy that way; and so met with the same fate the others had done; and were all killed, or made Prisoners. Thus having

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performed, at least as much as they had proposed to do, and being laden with Prisoners, and Booty, and the Sun being now Rising, the Prince thought it time to retire to *Oxford*, and gave Orders to march accordingly with all convenient speed, till they should come to a Bridge which was yet two Miles from them, where he had appointed a Guard to attend, to favor their Retreat.

But the Alarm had been brought to the Earl of *Essex* from all the Quarters, who quickly gathered those Troops together, which were nearest; and directed those to follow the Prince, and to entertain him in Skirmishes, till Himself should come up with the Foot, and some other Troops; which he made all possible haste to do. So that when the Prince had almost passed a fair Plain, or Field, called *Chalgrave-Field*, from whence he was to enter a Lane, which continued to the Bridge; the Enemies Horse were discovered marching after them with speed; and as they might easily overtake them in the Lane, so they must as easily have put them into great disorder. Therefore the Prince resolved to expect, and stand them upon the open Field, though his Horse were all tired, and the Sun was grown very hot, it being about eight of the Clock in the Morning in *June*. He then directed, "that the Guard of the Prisoners should make what haste they could to the Bridge, but that all the rest should return;" for some were entered the Lane: and so he placed himself and his Troops, as he thought fit, in that Field to receive the Enemy; which made more haste, and with less order than they should have done; and being more

in Number than the Prince, and consisting of many of the Principal Officers, who having been present with the Earl of *Essex*, when the Alarm came, stayed not for their own Troops, but joined with those who were ready in the pursuit, as They thought, of a Flying Enemy, or such as would easily be arrested in their hasty retreat; and, having now overtaken them, meant to take revenge themselves for the damage they had received that Night, and Morning, before the General could come up to have a share in the Victory, though his Troops were even in View. But the Prince entertained them so roughly, that though they Charged very bravely and obstinately, being many of their best Officers, of which the chiefeſt falling, the reſt ſhowed leſs Vigor, in a ſhort time they broke, and fled, and were purſued till they came near the Earl of *Essex's* Body; which being at near a mile's diſtance, and making a ſtand to receive their Flying Troops, and to be informed of their diſaſter, the Prince with his Troops haſtened his retreat, and paſſed the Lane, and came ſafe to the Bridge before any of the Earl's Forces came up; who found it then to no purpoſe to go farther, there being a good Guard of Foot, which had likewiſe lined both ſides of the Hedges a good way in the Lane. Thus the Prince, about Noon, or ſhortly after, entered *Oxford*, with near two hundred Priſoners, ſeven Cornets of Horſe, and four Enſigns of Foot, with moſt of the Men he carried from thence; few only having been killed in the Action, whereof ſome were of Name.

The Prince preſented Colonel *Urry* to the King

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with a great Testimony of the Courage he had showed in the Action, as well as of his Counsel, and Conduct in the whole; which was indeed very dexterous, and could have been performed by no Man, who had not been very conversant in the Quarters of those he destroyed. Upon which, the King honored him with Knighthood, and a Commission to raise a Regiment of Horse; and every body magnified, and extolled him, as they usually do a Man who hath good luck, and the more, because he was a *Scotch* man, and professed a Repentance for having been in Rebellion against the King. He deserves this Testimony, and Vindication to be given him, against the calumnies which were raised against him, "as if he had broken his Trust, and deserted the Service of the Parliament, and betrayed them to the King, which is not true." He had owned, and published his discontents long before, and demanded redress, and justice, in some particulars from the Parliament, in which the Earl of *Essex* thought he had reason; and wished he might receive satisfaction. But the Man was in his nature proud, and imperious; had raised many Enemies; was a Man of Licence, and committed many disorders of that kind. He was however a good Officer in the Field; regular and vigilant in Marching, and in his Quarters; which the Parliament thought other Men would attain to, who had fewer Vices; and therefore granted nothing that he had desired; upon which he declared, "he would serve them no longer;" and delivered up his Commission to the Earl of *Essex*; and being then pressed to promise, that he would

not serve the King; he positively refused to give any such Engagement; and after he had stayed in *London* about a Month, and had received encouragement from some Friends in *Oxford*, he came thither in the manner set down before.

The Prince's success in this last march was very seasonable, and raised the Spirits at *Oxford* very much, and for some time allayed the Jealousies, and Animosities, which too often broke out in several Factions to the disquiet of the King. It was visibly great in the number of the Prisoners; whereof many were of condition, and the names of many Officers were known, who were left dead upon the Field, as Colonel *Gunter*, who was looked upon as the best Officer of Horse they had, and a Man of known malice to the Government of the Church; which had drawn some severe censure upon him before the Troubles, and for which he had still meditated Revenge. One of the Prisoners taken in the Action, said, "that he was confident Mr. *Hambden* was hurt, for he saw him ride off the Field before the Action was done, which he never used to do; with his head hanging down, and resting his hands upon the neck of his Horse; by which he concluded he was hurt." The news the next day made the Victory much more important, than it was thought to have been. There was full information brought of the great loss the Enemy had sustained in their Quarters, by which three or four Regiments were utterly broken and lost: the names of many Officers, of the best account, were known,

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who were either killed upon the place, or so hurt as there remained little hope of their recovery.

Among the Prisoners, there were taken Colonel *Sheffield*, a younger Son of the Earl of *Mulgrave*, and one Colonel *Beckly* a *Scotch*-man; who, being both visibly wounded, acted their hurts so well, and pretended to be so ready to expire, that upon their Paroles neither to endeavour nor endure a Rescue, they were suffered to rest at a private House in the way within a mile of the Field, till their Wounds should be dressed, and they recover so much strength as to be able to render themselves Prisoners at *Oxford*. But the King's Forces were no sooner gone, than they found means to send to their Comrades, and were the next day strong enough, to suffer themselves to be removed to *Thame*, by a strong Party sent from the Earl of *Essex*; and, between denying that they had promised, and saying, that they would perform it, they never submitted themselves to be Prisoners, as much against the Law of Arms, as their taking Arms was against their Allegiance. But that which would have been looked upon as a considerable recompence for a Defeat, could not but be thought a great addition to the Victory, which was the death of Mr. *Hambden*; who, being shot into the shoulder with a brace of Bullets, which brake the Bone, within three Weeks after died with extraordinary pain; to as great a consternation of all that Party, as if their whole Army had been defeated, or cut off.

Mr. *Hambden*
wounded in
Chalgrave-
Field, of which
he died.

Many Men observed, (as upon signal turns of great Affairs, as this was, such observations are

frequently made) that the Field in which the late Skirmish was, and upon which Mr. *Hambden* received his death-wound, *Chalgrave-Field*, was the same place in which he had first executed the Ordinance of the Militia, and engaged that County, in which his Reputation was very great, in this Rebellion: and it was confessed by the Prisoners that were taken that day, and acknowledged by all, that upon the Alarm that morning, after their Quarters were beaten up, he was exceeding solicitous to draw Forces together to pursue the Enemy; and, being a Colonel of Foot, put himself among those Horse as a Volunteer, who were first ready; and that when the Prince made a stand, all the Officers were of opinion to stay till their Body came up, and He alone (being second to None but the General himself in the observance, and application of all men) persuaded, and prevailed with them to advance; so violently did his fate carry him, to pay the Mulct in the place where he had committed the Transgression, about a year before.

He was a Gentleman of a good Family in *Buckinghamshire*, and born to a fair Fortune, and of a most civil and affable deportment. In his entrance into the world, he indulged to himself all the Licence in Sports and Exercises, and Company, which were used by Men of the most Jolly Conversation. Afterwards, he retired to a more reserved, and Melancholy Society, yet preserving his own natural Cheerfulness, and Vivacity, and above all, a flowing courtesy to all Men; though they who conversed nearly with him, found him growing into a dislike

B O O K of the Ecclesiastical Government of the Church,
VII. yet most believed it rather a dislike of some Churchmen, and of some introducements of Theirs, which he apprehended might disquiet the public Peace. He was rather of Reputation in his own County, than of public discourse, or fame in the Kingdom, before the business of Ship-money: but Then he grew the Argument of all Tongues, every Man inquiring who, and what He was, that durst, at his own charge, support the Liberty, and Property of the Kingdom, and rescue his Country, as he thought, from being made a Prey to the Court. His carriage, throughout this Agitation, was with that rare temper and modesty, that they who watched him narrowly to find some advantage against his Person, to make him less resolute in his Cause, were compelled to give him a just Testimony. And the Judgment that was given against him, infinitely more advanced Him, than the Service for which it was given. When this Parliament begun (being returned Knight of the Shire for the County where he lived) the Eyes of all Men were fixed upon him, as their *Patriæ Pater*, and the Pilot that must steer the Vessel, through the Tempests, and Rocks which threatened it. And I am persuaded, his Power, and Interest, at that time, was greater to do Good or Hurt, than any Man's in the Kingdom, or than any Man of His Rank hath had in any time: for his Reputation of Honesty was Universal, and his Affections seemed so publicly guided, that no corrupt, or private ends could bias them.

He was of that rare affability, and temper in

Debate, and of that seeming humility and submission of judgment, as if he brought no opinion of his own with him, but a desire of Information, and Instruction; yet he had so subtle a way of Interrogating and, under the notion of Doubts, insinuating his Objections, that he infused his own opinions into those from whom he pretended to learn, and receive them. And even with them who were able to preserve themselves from his infusions, and discerned those opinions to be fixed in him, with which they could not comply, he always left the Character of an Ingenious, and Conscientious Person. He was indeed a very Wise Man, and of great parts, and possessed with the most absolute spirit of Popularity, and the most absolute faculties to govern the People, of any Man I ever knew. For the first year of the Parliament, he seemed rather to moderate, and soften the violent and distempèred humors, than to inflame them. But wise and dispassioned Men plainly discerned, that That moderation proceeded from prudence, and observation that the season was not ripe, rather than that he approved of the moderation; and that he Begot many opinions, and motions, the Education whereof he committed to other Men; so far disguising his own designs, that he seemed seldom to wish more than was concluded; and in many gross conclusions, which would hereafter contribute to designs not yet set on foot, when he found them sufficiently backed by majority of Voices, he would withdraw himself before the Question, that he might seem not to consent to so much visible unreasonableness; which produced as great

BOOK a doubt in some, as it did approbation in others;
VII. of his Integrity. What combination soever had been originally with the *Scots* for the Invasion of *England*, and what farther was entered into afterwards in favor of them, and to advance any alteration of the Government in Parliament, no Man doubts was at least with the privity of this Gentleman.

After he was among those Members accused by the King of High-Treason, he was much altered; his nature and carriage seeming much fiercer than it did before. And without question, when he first drew his Sword, he threw away the Scabbard; for he passionately opposed the Overture made by the King for a Treaty from *Nottingham*, and as eminently, all expedients that might have produced any accommodations in this that was at *Oxford*, and was principally relied on, to prevent any infusions which might be made into the Earl of *Essex* towards Peace, or to render them ineffectual, if they were made; and was indeed much more relied on by that Party, than the General himself. In the first entrance into the Troubles, he undertook the Command of a Regiment of Foot, and performed the duty of a Colonel, upon all occasions, most punctually. He was very temperate in diet, and a Supreme Governor over all his Passions, and Affections, and had thereby a great power over other Men's. He was of an Industry and Vigilance not to be tired out, or wearied by the most Laborious; and of Parts not to be imposed upon, by the most Subtle, or Sharp; and of a Personal courage equal to his best Parts; so that he was an Enemy not to be wished wherever he

might have been made a Friend; and as much to be apprehended where he was so, as any Man could deserve to be. And therefore his death was no less pleasing to the One Party, than it was condoled in the Other. In a word, what was said of *Cinna*, might well be applied to Him; "he had a Head to contrive, and a Tongue to persuade, and a Hand to execute, any mischief." His death therefore seemed to be a great deliverance to the Nation.

The Earl of *Essex's* Army was so weakened by these defeats, and more by the sickness that had wasted it, that it was not thought safe to remain longer so near his unquiet, and restless Enemies. The Factions, and Animosities at *London*, required his presence There; and he thought the Army would be sooner recruited there, than at so great a distance; so that he marched directly from *Thame* to *London*, where he found Jealousy and Contention enough; leaving his Army Quartered about *St. Albans*. Whilst the Affairs of the Parliament were in this distraction, the King's recovered great Reputation; and the Season of the year being fit for Action, all Discontents, and Factionous Murmurings, were adjourned to the next Winter.

The Earl of
Essex marches
from Thame
to London;
quarterming his
Army about
St. Albans.

The end of the Treaty, in which We left the Chief-Commanders of the *Cornish*-Forces, with Commissioners of the other Western-Counties, was like that in other places; for notwithstanding those extraordinary obligations of Oaths, and receiving the Sacrament, circumstances in no other Treaty, the Parliament no sooner sent their Votes, and Declarations to them (the same which are before mentioned upon

The King's
Affairs in the
West.

BOOK VII. the Treaties in *Yorkshire*, and *Cheeshire*) and some Members of their own to overlook and perplex them, but all peaceable Inclinations were laid aside; so that (having in the mean time industriously levied Money, throughout *Somerſet* and *Devon*, upon Friends and Enemies; and a good Body of Men) the Night before the expiration of the Treaty and Ceffation, *James Chudleigh* the Major-General of the Rebels, brought a ſtrong Party of Horſe and Foot within two miles of *Launceſton*, the head Quarter of the *Corniſh*, and the very next Morning, the Ceffation not being determined till after twelve of the Clock in the Night, marched upon the Town, where they were not ſufficiently provided for them. For though the Commanders of the *Corniſh* had employed their time, as uſefully as they could, during the Ceffation, in preparing the Gentry of that County, and all the Inhabitants, to ſubmit to a Weekly Tax for the ſupport of that power, which defended them; over and above which, the Gentlemen, and Perſons of Quality, freely brought in all their Plate to be diſpoſed of to the public, and though they foreſaw, after the Committee of Parliament came into the County, that the Treaty would conclude without fruit, and therefore Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and Sir *Bevil Greenvil* repaired to *Launceſton* the day before the expiration of the Treaty, to meet any attempt ſhould be made upon them: Yet, being to Feed, and Pay their ſmall Forces out of one County, they had been compelled to Quarter their Men at a great diſtance, that no one part might be more oppreſſed than was neceſſary: ſo that all that was done

the first day, was by the advantage of Passes, and lining of Hedges, to keep the Enemy in Action, till the other Forces came up; which they seasonably did, towards the Evening; and then the Enemy, who received great loss in that day's Action, grew so heartless, that in the Night they retired to *Okington*, fifteen miles from the place of their Skirmish. After which many small Skirmishes ensued, for many days, with various success; sometimes the *Cornish* advancing in *Devon*, and then retiring again; for it appeared now, that a formed Army was marching against them, so far superior in Number, that there was no reasonable hope of resistance.

Towards the middle of *May*, the Earl of *Stamford* marched into *Cornwal*; by the North-part, with a Body of fourteen hundred Horse and Dragoons, and five thousand four hundred Foot by the Poll, with a Train of thirteen Brass-Ordinance, and a Mortar-Piece, and a very plentiful Magazine of Victual, and Ammunition, and every way in as good an Equipage, as could be provided by Men who wanted no Money; whilst the King's small Forces, being not half the Number, and unsupplied with every useful thing, were at *Launceston*; of whom the Enemy had so absolute a contempt, though they knew they were marching to them, within six or seven Miles, that they considered only how to take them after they were dispersed, and to prevent their running into *Pendennis*-Castle to give them farther trouble. To which purpose having encamped themselves upon the flat top of a very high Hill, to which the Ascents were very steep every

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The Earl of
Stamford
marches into
Cornwal with
an Army.

B O O K way, near *Stratton*, being the only part of *Cornwal*
VII. eminently disaffected to the King's Service, they sent a Party of twelve hundred Horse and Dragoons, under the Command of Sir *George Chudleigh*, Father to their Major - General, to *Bodmin* to surprize the High-Sheriff, and principal Gentleman of the County; and thereby, not only to prevent the coming up of any more strength to the King's Party, but, under the awe of such a power of Horse, to make the whole County rise for them. This design, which was not in itself unreasonable, proved fortunate to the King. For his Forces which marched from *Launceston*, with a resolution to Fight with the Enemy, upon any disadvantage of Place or Number (which, how hazardous soever, carried less danger with it, than retiring into the County, or any thing else that was in their power) easily now resolved to Assault the Camp in the absence of their Horse; and with this resolution, they marched on *Monday* the fiftenth of *May*, within a Mile of the Enemy; being so destitute of all Provisions, that the best Officers had but a Bisket a Man a day, for two days, the Enemy looking upon them as their own.

On *Tuesday* the sixteenth of *May*, about five of the Clock in the Morning, they disposed themselves to their work; having stood in their Arms all the Night. The Number of Foot was about two thousand four hundred, which they divided into four Parts, and agreed on their several Provinces. The first was Commanded by the Lord *Mohun*, and Sir *Ralph Hopton*; who undertook to Assault the Camp on the South-side. Next them, on the left hand, Sir

John Berkeley, and *Sir Bevil Grenvil* were to force their way. *Sir Nicholas Slanning*, and Colonel *Trevannion* were to Assault the North-side; and, on the left hand, Colonel *Thomas Basset*, who was Major-General of their Foot, and Colonel *William Godolphin* were to advance with Their Party; each Party having two pieces of Cannon to dispose as they found necessary: Colonel *John Digby* Commanding the Horse and Dragoons, being about five hundred, stood upon a Sandy-Common which had a way to the Camp, to take any advantage he could of the Enemy, if they Charged; otherwise, to be firm as a Reserve.

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In this manner the Fight begun; the King's Forces pressing, with their utmost vigor, those four ways up the Hill, and the Enemies as obstinately defending their ground. The Fight continued with very doubtful success, till towards three of the Clock in the Afternoon; when word was brought to the Chief-Officers of the *Cornish*, that their Ammunition was spent to less than four Barrels of Powder; which (concealing the defect from the Soldiers) they resolved could be only supplied with Courage: and therefore, by Messengers to one another, they agreed to advance with their full Bodies, without making any more shot, till they reached the top of the Hill, and so might be upon even ground with the Enemy; wherein the Officer's Courage, and Resolution, was so well seconded by the Soldier, that they begun to get ground in all places; and the Enemy, in wonder of the Men, who out-faced their shot with their Swords, to quit their Post. Major-

BOOK VII. General *Chudleigh*, who ordered the Battle, failed in no part of a Soldier; and when he saw his Men recoil from less Numbers, and the Enemy in all places gaining the Hill upon him himself advanced, with a good stand of Pikes, upon that Party which was led by Sir *John Berkeley*, and Sir *Bevil Greenvil*; and Charged them so smartly, that he put them into disorder; Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, in the shock, being borne to the Ground, but quickly relieved by his Companion; they so reinforced the Charge, that having killed most of the Assailants, and dispersed the rest, they took the Major-General Prisoner, after he had behaved himself with as much Courage, as a Man could do. Then the Enemy gave ground apace, insomuch as the four Parties, growing nearer and nearer as they ascended the Hill, between three and four of the Clock, they all met together upon one ground near the top of the Hill; where they embraced with unspeakable joy, each congratulating the others success, and all acknowledging the wonderful blessing of God; and being there possessed of some of the Enemies Cannon, they turned them upon the Camp, and advanced together to perfect the Victory. But the Enemy no sooner understood the loss of their Major-General, but their hearts failed them; and being so resolutely pressed, and their ground lost, upon the security and advantage whereof, they wholly depended, some of them threw down their Arms, and Others fled; dispersing themselves, and every Man shifting for himself: Their General, the Earl of *Stamford*, giving the example, who (having stood at a safe distance all the time of the Battle, environed

The Earl is
beaten near
Stratton,
May 16.

enviored with all the Horſe, which in ſmall Parties, though it is true their whole Number was not above ſix or ſeventy ſcore, might have done great miſchief to the ſeveral Parties of Foot, who with ſo much difficulty ſcaled the ſteep Hill) as ſoon as he ſaw the day loſt, and ſome ſay ſooner, made all imaginable haſte to *Exeter*, to prepare them for the condition they were ſhortly to expect.

The Conquerors, as ſoon as they had gained the Camp, and diſperſed the Enemy, and after public Prayers upon the place, and a ſolemn Thankſgiving to Almighty God for their Deliverance and Victory ſent a ſmall Party of Horſe to purſue the Enemy for a mile or two; not thinking fit to purſue farther, or with their whole Body of Horſe, left Sir *George* ſhould return from *Bodmin* with his ſtrong Body of Horſe and Dragoons, and find them in diſorder; but contenting themſelves with the Victory they had obtained upon the place, which, in Subſtance as well as Circumſtance, was as ſignal a one, as hath happened to either Party ſince the unhappy diſtraction; for on the King's Party were not loſt in all above fourſcore Men; whereof few were Officers, and none above the degree of a Captain; and though many more were hurt, not above ten Men died afterwards of their wounds. On the Parliament ſide, notwithstanding their advantage of ground, and that the other were the Aſſailants, above three hundred were ſlain on the place, and ſeventeen hundred taken Priſoners with their Major-General, and above thirty other Officers. They took likewiſe all their Baggage and Tents, all their Cannon,

B O O K
VIL

being, as was said before, thirteen pieces of Brass-Ordnance, and a Brass-Mortar-piece; all their Ammunition, being seventy Barrels of Powder, and all other sorts of Ammunition proportionable, and a very great Magazine of Bisket, and other excellent Provisions of Victuals; which was as seasonable a Blessing as the Victory, to those who, for three or four days before, had suffered great want of food as well as sleep; and were equally tired with duty, and hunger. The Army rested that night, and the next day, at *Stratton*; all care being taken by express Messengers, to disperse the news of their success to all parts of that Country, and to guard the Passes upon the River *Tamar*, whereby to hinder the return of the Enemies Horse and Dragoons. But Sir *George Chudleigh* had no sooner, with great triumph, dispersed the High-Sheriff, and Gentlemen, who intended to have called the *posse Comitatus*, according to their good custom, for the Assistance of the King's Party, and with little resistance entered *Bodmin*, when he received the fatal News of the loss of their Camp and Army at *Stratton*. Upon which with as much haste, and disorder, as so great a consternation could produce among a People not acquainted with the Accidents of War, leaving many of his Men and Horses a Prey to the Country-People, himself, with as many as he could get, and keep together, got into *Plymouth*; and thence, without interruption or hazard, into *Exeter*.

The Earl of *Stamford*, to make his own conduct and misfortune the less censured, industriously spread abroad in all places, and confidently sent the same

information to the Parliament, " that he had been
 " betrayed by *James Chudleigh*; and that, in the
 " heat of the Battle, when the hope of the day stood
 " fair, he had Voluntarily, with a Party, run over
 " to the Enemy, and immediately Charged the
 " Parliament-Forces; which begot in all Men a ge-
 " neral apprehension of Treachery, the Soldiers
 " fearing their Officers, and the Officers their Sol-
 " diers revolt;" and thereupon the Rout ensued.
 Whereas the truth is, as he was a young Man of
 excellent Parts, and Courage, he performed the part
 of a right good Commander, both in his Orders,
 and his Person; and was taken Prisoner in the Body
 of his Enemy, whither he had Charged with un-
 daunted Courage, when there was no other expe-
 dient in reason left. But this scandal so without
 color cast on him, and entertained with more credit
 than his services had merited (for from the time of
 his Engagement to the Parliament, he had served
 not only with full ability, but with notable success,
 and was the only Man that had given any inter-
 ruption to the prosperity of the *Cornish* Army, and
 in a night-skirmish, at *Bradock-Down* near *Okington*,
 struck a greater terror into them, and disordered
 them more than they were at any other time) wrought
 so far upon the young Man, together with the kind
 usage, and reception he found as a Prisoner among
 the Chief-Officers, who loved him as a Gallant
 Enemy, and one like to do the King good Service
 if he were recovered to his Loyalty, that after he
 had been Prisoner about ten days, he freely declared,
 " that he was convinced in his conscience, and

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" judgment, of the errors he had committed; " and, upon promise made to him of the King's Pardon, frankly offered to join with them in his Majesty's Service; and so gave some countenance to the reproach that was first most injuriously cast upon him.

The truth is, he was of too good an understanding, and too much generosity in his nature, to be affected to the Cause which he served, or to comply with those Arts, which he saw practised to carry it on; and having a Command in *Ireland* when the War first broke out, he came thence into *England*, with a purpose to serve the King; and to that end, shortly after his Majesty's coming to *Oxford*, he came thither to tender his Service; but he found the Eyes of most Men fixed upon him with prejudice and jealousy there, both for his Family's sake, which was notoriously disaffected to the King, and for some errors of his own, in that Plot, that was so much spoken of, to bring up the Northern Army to awe the Parliament; in which business, being then a very young Man, and of a stirring spirit, and desirous of a Name, he had expressed much Zeal to the King's Service, and been busy in inclining the Army to engage in such Petitions, and Undertakings, as were not gracious to the Parliament. But when that discovery was made by Mr. *Goring*, as is before remembered, and a Committee appointed to examine the combination, this Gentleman, wrought upon by hopes, or fears, in his examination, said much that was disadvantageous to the Court, and therefore, bringing no

other Testimony with him to *Oxford*, but of his own Conscience, he received nothing like Countenance there; whereupon he returned to *London*, sufficiently incensed that he was neglected; and was quickly entertained for their Western employment, where his nearest Friends were thoroughly engaged. But after this defeat, his former passion being allayed, and his observation and experience convincing him, that the designs of the Parliament were not such as were pretended, he resigned himself to those who first conquered him with Force, and then with Reason and Civility; and, no doubt, was much wrought upon by the discipline, and integrity of the Forces, by whom he had been subdued; and with the piety, temper, and sobriety of the Chief-Commanders, which indeed was most exemplary, and worthy the Cause for which they were engaged; the Reputation, and Conscience whereof, had alone carried them through the difficulties, and straits, with which they were to contend.

This Army, willing to relieve their Friends of *Cornwal*, from the burden which they sustained so patiently, hastened their march into *Devonshire*, not thoroughly resolved whether to attack *Plymouth*, or *Exeter*, or both; when advertisement came to them, by an express from *Oxford*, "that the King
" had sent Prince *Maurice*, and the Marquis of *Hert-*
" *sford*, with a very good Body of Horse to join
" with them, and that they were advanced towards
" them as far as *Somersetshire*; and that Sir *William*
" *Waller* was designed by the Parliament, to visit the
" West, with a new Army, which would receive

BOOK VII. "a good recruit from those who escaped from
 "the Battle of *Stratton*:" So that it was necessary for
 all the King's Forces in those parts to be united in
 a Body, as soon as might be; hereupon it was
 quickly resolved to leave such a Party at *Saltaſh*,
 and *Milbrook* as might defend faithful *Cornwal* from
 any incursions of *Plymouth*, and with their Army
 to march Eastward; their number increasing daily
 upon the Reputation of their new wonderful Vic-
 tory; many Volunteers coming to them out of *Devon-*
ſhire, and very many of their Prisoners profeſſing,
 they had been ſeduced, and freely offering to ſerve
 the King againſt thoſe who had wronged both; who,
 being entertained under ſome of their own converted
 Officers, behaved themſelves afterwards with great
 Honesty and Courage. And ſo making no longer
 ſtay by the way, than was neceſſary for the reſreſh-
 ing of their Troops, the *Corniſh* Army, for that
 was the ſtyle it now carried, marched by *Exeter*,
 where the Earl of *Stamford*, with a ſufficient Gar-
 riſon, then was; and ſtaying only two or three days
 to fix ſmall Garrifons, whereby that Town, full
 of fear and apprehenſion, might be kept from hav-
 ing too great an influence upon ſo populous a
 County, advanced to *Tiverton*, where a Regiment
 of Foot of the Parliament, under Colonel *Ware*, a
 Gentleman of that County, had fixed themſelves;
 hoping Sir *William Waller* would be as ſoon with
 them for their relief, as the *Corniſh* would be to
 force them; which Regiment being eaſily diſperſed,
 they ſtayed there to expect new Orders from the
 Marquis of *Hertford*.

When the loss of *Reading* was well digested, and the King understood the declining condition of the Earl of *Essex's* Army, and that he would either not be able to advance, or not in such a manner, as would give him much trouble at *Oxford*; and hearing in what prosperous state his hopeful Party in *Cornwal* stood, whither the Parliament was making all haste to send Sir *William Waller*, to check their good success; his Majesty resolved to send the Marquis of *Hertford* into those parts, the rather because there were many of the prime Gentlemen of *Wiltshire*, *Dorsetshire*, and *Somersetshire*, who confidently undertook, if the Marquis went through those Counties, with such a strength as they supposed the King would spare to him, they would in a very short time raise so considerable a power, as to oppose any force the Parliament should be able to send. When the Marquis was ready for his Journey, news arrived of the great Victory at *Stratton*; so that there was no danger in the Marquis's being able to join with that little *Cornish* Army; and then there would appear indeed a visible Body worthy the name of an Army. This put some Persons upon desiring, that Prince *Maurice* (who was yet in no other Quality of Command, than of a private Colonel of Horse, but had always behaved himself with great Courage and Vigilance) might be likewise disposed into a Command of that Army. Hereupon the King assigned Him, and his Highness willingly accepted to be Lieutenant-General under the Marquis; who for many reasons, besides that he was actually possessed of it, was thought fit to have the

B O O K superior power over those Western Counties, where
VII. his Fortune lay, and the Estimation, and Reverence of the People to him was very great. So the Prince and the Marquis, with Prince *Maurice's*, and the Earl of *Carnarvon's*, and Colonel *Thomas Howard's* Regiments of Horse (the Earl being General of the Cavalry) advanced into the West; and staying only some few days at *Salisbury*, and after in *Dorsetshire*, whilst some new Regiments of Horse and Foot, which were levying by the Gentlemen in those parts, came up to them, made all convenient haste into *Somerseftshire*, being desirous to join with the *Cornish*, as soon as might be; presuming they should be then best able to perfect their new Levies, when they were out of apprehension of being disturbed by a more powerful Force. For Sir *William Waller* was already marched out of *London*, and used not to stay longer by the way than was unavoidably necessary.

In the Marquis's first entrance into the West, He had an unspeakable loss, and the King's Service a far greater, by the death of Mr. *Rogers*, a Gentleman of a rare Temper, and excellent Understanding; who besides that he had a great Interest in the Marquis, being his Cousin-german, and so, out of that private Relation, as well as Zeal to the public, passionately inclined to advance the Service, had a wonderful great influence upon the County of *Dorset*, for which he served as one of the Knights in Parliament; and had so well designed all things there, that *Poole*, and *Lyne* (two Port-Towns in that County, which gave the King afterwards much

Trouble) if He had lived, had been undoubtedly reduced. But by his Death all those hopes were cancelled, the surviving Gentry of that Shire being, how well affected soever, so unactive, that the progress, that was that year made there to the King's advantage, owed little to their Assistance.

About the middle of *June*, Prince *Maurice*, and the Marquis, with sixteen or seventeen Hundred Horse, and about one thousand new levied Foot, and seven or eight Field-pieces, came to *Chard*, a fair Town in *Somersetshire*, nearest the edge of *Devonshire*; where, according to order, they were met by the *Cornish* Army; which consisted of above three thousand excellent Foot, five hundred Horse, and three hundred Dragoons, with four or five Field-pieces; so that, Officers and all, being joined, they might well pass for an Army of seven thousand Men; with an excellent Train of Artillery, and a very fair proportion of Ammunition of all sorts, and so good a Reputation, that they might well promise themselves a quick increase of their Numbers. Yet if the extraordinary temper and virtue of the Chief-Officers of the *Cornish*, had not been much superior to that of their Common-Soldiers, who valued themselves high, as the Men whose courage had alone vindicated the King's Cause in the West, there might have been greater disorder at their first joining, than could easily have been composed. For how small soever the Marquis's Party was in Numbers, it was supplied with all the General Officers of a Royal Army, a General, Lieutenant-General, General of the Horse, General of the Ordnance, a Major-

8 0 0 K
VII.
The Marquis
of Hertford
and Prince
Maurice,
with their
Forces, join
the Cornish
Army at
Chard.

BOOK General of Horse, and another of Foot, without
VII. keeping suitable Commands for those who had done all that was passed, and were to be principally relied on for what was to come. So that the Chief-Officers of the *Cornish* Army, by joining with a much less Party than themselves, were at best in the condition of Private Colonels. Yet the same Public thoughts still so absolutely prevailed with them, that they quieted all murmurings and emulations among Inferior Officers, and Common-Soldiers; and were, with equal candor and estimation, valued by the Prince and Marquis, who bethought themselves of all expedients, which might prevent any future misunderstanding.

Taunton was the first place they resolved to visit, being one of the fairest, largest, and richest Towns in *Somersetshire*; but withal as eminently affected to the Parliament, where they had now a Garrison; but they had not yet the same Courage they recovered afterwards. For the Army was no sooner drawn near the Town, the head Quarters being at *Orchard*, a House of the *Portmans*, two miles from the Town, but the Town sent two of their substantial Inhabitants to Treat; which, though nothing was concluded, struck that terror into the Garrison (the Prisoners in the Castle, whereof many were Men of good Fortunes, imprisoned there as Malignants, at the same time raising some commotion there) that the Garrison fled out of the Town to *Bridgewater*, being a less Town but of a much stronger situation; and, with the same panic fear, the next day from thence; so that the Marquis was possessed, in three

days, of *Taunton*, *Bridgewater*, and *Dunstar*. Castle, so much stronger than both the other, that it could not have been forced; yet by the dexterity of *Francis Windham*, who wrought upon the fears of the owner, and master of it, Mr. *Lutterel*, was with as little bloodshed as the other, delivered up to the King; into which the Marquis put him, that took it, as Governor; as he well deserved.

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The Government of *Taunton* he committed to Sir *John Stawell*, a Gentleman of a very great Estate in those parts; who from the beginning, had heartily and personally engaged Himself and his Children for the King; and was in the first form of those who had made themselves obnoxious to the Parliament. The other Government, of *Bridgewater*, was conferred upon *Edmund Windham*, High-Sheriff of the County, being a Gentleman of a Fortune near the place, and of a good personal Courage, and unquestionable Affection to the Cause. The Army stayed about *Taunton* seven or eight days, for the settling those Garrisons, and to receive Advertisements of the Motion, or Station of the Enemy; in which time they lost much of the Credit, and Reputation, they had with the Country. For whereas the Chief-Commanders of the *Cornish* Army, had restrained their Soldiers from all manner of Licence, obliging them to solemn, and frequent Actions of Devotion, inso-much as the fame of their Religion, and Discipline, was no less than of their Courage, and thereupon Sir *Ralph Hopton* (who was generally considered as the General of that Army, though it was governed by such a Commission as is before remembered) was

B O O K greedily expected in his own Country, where his
VII. Reputation was second to no Man's; the Horse, that came now with the Marquis, having lived under a loose Discipline, and coming now into plentiful Quarters, unvisited by an Army, eminent for their Disaffection, were disorderly enough to give the Enemy credit in laying more to their Charge than they deserved; and by their Licence hindered those orderly Levies, which should have brought in a supply of Money, for the regular payment of the Army, This extravagancy produced another mischief, some jealousy or shadow of it, between the Lord Marquis and Prince *Maurice*; the first, as being better versed in the Policy of Peace, than in the Mysteries of War, desiring to regulate the Soldier, and to restrain him from using any Licence upon the Country, and the Prince being thought so wholly to incline to the Soldier; that he neglected any consideration of the Country, and not without some design of drawing the sole dependance of the Soldier upon himself. But here were the seeds rather sown of dislike, than any visible disinclination produced; for after they had settled the Garrisons before mentioned, they advanced, with Unity and Alacrity, Eastward, to find out the Enemy, which was gathered together in a considerable Body, within less than twenty Miles of them.

Whilst so much time was spent at *Oxford*, to prepare the supplies for the West, and in settling the manner of sending them; which might have been done much sooner, and with less noise; the Parliament foresaw, that if all the West were recovered

from them, their Quarters would by degrees be so straitened, that their other Friends would quickly grow weary of them. They had still all the Western Ports at their Devotion, those in *Cornwal* only excepted; and their Fleets had always great benefit by it. And though most of the Gentry were engaged against them, as they were in truth in many parts throughout the Kingdom, yet the Common-People, especially in the Clothing-parts of *Somersetshire*; were generally too much inclined to them. So that they could not want Men, if they sent a Body of Horse, and some Arms, to countenance them; with the last of which, they had sufficiently stored the Sea-Towns which were in their hands. And therefore they resolved, that though they could not easily recruit their Army, they would send some Troops of Horse, and Dragoons, into the West, to keep up the Spirits of their Friends there. And for the conduct of this service, they made choice of Sir *William Waller*, a Member of the House of Commons, and a Gentleman of a Family in *Kent*.

The Parlia-
ment sent Sir
W. Waller
into the west
with an Army

Sir *William Waller* had been well bred; and, having spent some years abroad, and some time in the Armies there, returned with a good Reputation home; and shortly after, having Married a young Lady, who was to inherit a good Fortune in the West, he had a quarrel with a Gentleman of the same Family, who had the Honor to be a menial Servant to the King in a place near his Person; which, in that time, was attended with Privilege and Respect from all Men. These two Gentlemen discoursing with some warmth together, Sir *William Waller* received such provocation

B O O K from the other, that he struck him a blow over
VII. the face, so near the Gate of *Westminster-Hall*, that there were Witnesses, who swore, "that it was in the Hall itself, the Courts being then sitting;" which, according to the rigor of Law, makes it very penal; and the credit the other had in the Court, made the prosecution to be very severe; insomuch as he was at last compelled to redeem himself at a dear ransom; the benefit whereof, was conferred on his adversary, which made the sense of it the more grievous; and this produced in him so eager a spirit against the Court, that he was very open to any temptation, that might engage him against it; and so concurring in the House of Commons with all those Counsels which were most Violent, he was employed in their first Military Action, for the reducing of *Portsmouth*; which he effected with great ease, as is remembered before; and when the Earl of *Essex* had put the Army into Winter-Quarters, he had with some Troops, made a Cavalcade or two into the West, so fortunately, that he had not only beat up some loose Quarters, but had surprised a fixed and fortified Quarter, made by the Lord *Herbert of Ragland* near *Glocester*; in which he took above twelve hundred Prisoners with all the Officers; being a number very little inferior to his own Party; which is likewise particularly remembered before. So that he got great Reputation with the Parliament and the City; and was there called *William the Conqueror*. And it is very true, that they who looked upon the Earl of *Essex* as a Man that would not keep them company to the end of their Journey, had their Eyes upon Sir

William Waller, as a Man more for Their turn; and were desirous to extol him the more, that he might eclipse the other. And therefore they prepared all things for his march, with so great expedition, and secrecy, that the Marquis of *Hertford* was no sooner joined to the *Cornish* Troops (in which time *Bridgewater*, and *Dunstar*, and some other places were reduced from the Parliament) before he was informed that Sir *William Waller* was within two days march of him, and was more like to draw supplies to him from *Bristol*, and the parts adjacent, which were under the Parliament, than the Marquis could from the open Country; and therefore it was held most Counselable to advance, and engage him, whilst he was not yet too strong; and by this means they should continue still their march toward *Oxford*; which they now inclined to do.

Though Sir *William Waller* himself continued still at *Bath*, yet the remainder of those Horse and Dragoons that escaped out of *Cornwal*, after the Battle of *Stratton*, and such other as were sent out of *Exeter* for their ease, when they apprehended a Siege, and those Soldiers who fled out of *Taunton*, and *Bridgewater*, and other Regiments of the Country, were by *Alexander Popham*, *Strode*, and the other Deputy Lieutenant of the Militia for *Somerjet*, rallied; and with the Trained-bands, and Volunteer-Regiments of the Country, drawn together, with that confidence, that when the Marquis had taken up his head Quarters at *Somerton*, the Enemy, before break of day, fell upon a Regiment of Dragoons, quartered a mile Eastward from the Town; and gave

BOOK VII. so brisk an Alarm to the King's Army, that it was immediately drawn out, and advanced upon the Enemy (being the first they had seen make any stand before them, since the Battle of *Stratton*) who making stands upon the places of advantage, and maintaining little Skirmishes in the Rear, retired in no ill order to *Wells*; and the King's Forces still pursuing, they chose to quit that City likewise; and drew their whole Body, appearing in number as considerable as their Pursuers, to the top of a Hill, called *Mendip-Hill*, overlooking the City of *Wells*, which they had left. The day being far spent, and the March having been long, the Marquis, with all the Foot, and Train, stayed at *Wells*, but Prince *Maurice*, and the Earl of *Carnarvon*, with Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and Sir *John Berkeley*, and two Regiments of Horse, resolved to loop upon the Enemy on the top of the Hill; who suffered them, without interruption, to gain the top of the Hill level with them, in a very orderly manner, facing with a large Front of their Horse, to give their Foot and Baggage leisure and security, retired together as the Prince advanced. This and the natural contempt the King's Horse yet had of the Enemy, which in all Skirmishes and Charges had been hitherto beaten by them, made the Prince judge this to be but a more graceful running away; and therefore followed them farther, over those large Hills till the Enemy, who were anon to pass through a Lane, and a Village called *Chewton*, were compelled, before their entrance into the Lane, to leave their Reserve; which faced about much thinner than it was over the Hill; which opportunity and advantage was no sooner

sooner discerned, as it had been foreseen, but the Earl of *Carnarvon* (who always Charged home) with an incomparable Gallantry Charged the Enemy, and pressed them so hard, that he entered the Lane with them, and Routed the whole Body of their Horse, and followed the execution of them above two miles.

But this was like to have been a dear success; for Sir *William Waller*, who lay with his new Army at *Bath*, and had drawn to him a good supply out of the Garrison at *Bristol*, had directed this Body which was in *Somerset*, to retire before the King's Forces till they should join with him, who had sent a fresh, strong Party of Horse and Dragoons, to assist their Retreat; which, by the advantage of a Hedge, had marched without being discovered: so that the Earl of *Carharvon*, being a stranger in the Country and the ways, pursued the Enemy into Sir *William Waller's* Quarters, and till himself was pressed by a fresh Body of Horse and Dragoons; when he was necessitated to retire in as good order as he could; and sent the Prince, who followed him, word of the danger which attended them. His Highness hereupon, with what haste he could, drew back through the Village; chusing rather, with very good reason, to attend the Enemy in the plain Heath, than to be engaged in a narrow passage: thither the Earl of *Carnarvon* with his Regiment came to him, broken and chased by the Enemy; who immediately drew up a large Front of Horse and Dragoons, much stronger than the Prince's Party, who had only his own, and the Earl of *Carnarvon's* Regiments, with some Gentlemen Volunteers.

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The strait, and necessity he was in, was very great; for as he might seem much too weak to Charge them, so the danger might probably be much greater to retire over these fair Hills, being pursued with a fresh Party much superior in number. Therefore he took a Gallant Resolution, to give the Enemy a brisk Charge with his own Regiment upon their advance, whilst the Earl rallied His, and prepared to second him, as there should be occasion. This was as soon and fortunately executed as resolved; the Prince in the head of the Regiment Charging so vigorously, that he utterly broke, and routed that part of the Front that received the impression. But almost half the Enemies Horse, that, being extended larger than his Front, were not Charged, wheeled about, and Charged the Prince in the Rear; and at the same time the Earl of *Carnarvon*, with his rallied Regiment, Charged Their Rear; and all this so thoroughly performed, that they were mingled one among the other, and the good Sword was to decide the controversy, their Pistols being spent in the close. The Prince himself received two shrewd hurts in his head, and was beaten off his Horse; but he was presently relieved, and carried off and the Enemy totally routed, and pursued again by the Earl of *Carnarvon*; who had a fair execution upon them, as long as the light countenanced his chase, and then he returned to the head Quarters at *Wells*; there having been in these Skirmishes three-score or fourscore Men lost on the Prince's Party, and three times that number by the Enemy; the Action being too quick to take many Prisoners.

At *Wells* the Army rested many days, as well to

recover the Prince's wounds, being only cuts with Swords, as to consult what was next to be done; for they were now within distance of an Enemy that they knew would Fight with them. For Sir *William Waller* was at *Bath* with his whole Army, much increased by those who were chased out of the West; and resolved not to advance, having all advantages of Provisions, and Passes, 'till a new supply, he every day expected from *London*, were arrived with him. On the other side, the Marquis was not only to provide to meet with so vigilant an Enemy, but to secure himself at his Rear, that the disaffection of the People behind him, who were only subdued, not converted, upon the advance of Sir *William Waller*, might not take fresh Courage. Though *Cornwal* was reasonably secured, to keep off any impression upon itself from *Plymouth*, yet *Devonshire* was left in a very unsafe posture; there being only a small Party at *Columb-John*, a House of Sir *John Ackland's* three miles off *Exeter*, to control the power of that City, where the Earl of *Stamford* was; and to dispute not only with any commotion, that might happen in the Country, but with any power that might arrive by Sea. Upon these considerations, and the intelligence, that the Parliament had sent directions to the Earl of *Warwick* their Admiral, "to attend the *Devonshire*-Coast with his Fleet, and take any advantage he could," the Marquis, by the advice of the Council of War, sent Sir *John Berkeley* back into *Devonshire*, with Colonel *Howard's* Regiment of Horse, to Command the Forces which were then

■ O O ■ there, and to raise what Numbers more he could
v.1. possibly, for the blocking up that City, and reducing the County; and upon his arrival there, to send up to the Army Sir *James Hamilton's* Regiment of Horse and Dragoons; which had been left in *Devonshire*; and, by the Licence they took, weakened the King's Party; so that by sending this relief thither, he did not lessen at all his own Numbers, yet gave great strength to the reducing those parts, as appeared afterwards by the success.

After this disposition, and eight or ten days rest at *Wells*, the Army generally expressing a cheerful impatience to meet with the Enemy, of which, at that time, they had a greater contempt, than in reason they should have; the Prince, and Marquis, advanced to *Frome*, and thence to *Bradford* within four Miles of *Bath*. And now no day passed without Action, and very sharp Skirmishes; Sir *William Waller* having received from *London* a fresh Regiment of five hundred Horse, under the Command of Sir *Arthur Haslerig*; which were so completely Armed, that they were called by the other side the Regiment of Lobsters, because of their bright Iron shells, with which they were covered, being perfect Cuirassiers; and were the first seen so Armed on either side, and the first that made any impression upon the King's Horse; who, being unarmed, were not able to bear a shock with them; besides that they were secure from hurts of the Sword, which were almost the only Weapons the other were furnished with.

The Contention was hitherto with Parties, in

which the Successes were various, and almost with equal losses: for as Sir *William Waller*, upon the first advance from *Wells*, beat up a Regiment of Horse and Dragoons of Sir *James Hamilton's*, and dispersed them; so, within two days, the King's Forces beat a Party of His from a Pass near *Bath*, where the Enemy lost two Field-pieces, and near a hundred Men. But Sir *William Waller* had the advantage in his ground, having a good City, well furnished with provisions, to quarter his Army together in; and so in his choice not to Fight, but upon extraordinary advantage. Whereas the King's Forces must either disperse themselves, and so give the Enemy advantage upon their Quarters, or, keeping near together, lodge in the Field, and endure great distress of Provision; the Country being so disaffected, that only force could bring in any supply or relief. Hereupon, after several attempts to engage the Enemy to a Battle upon equal terms, which having the advantage, he wisely avoided; the Marquis, and Prince *Maurice*, advanced with their whole Body to *Marsfield*, five miles beyond *Bath* towards *Oxford*; presuming, that, by this means, they should draw the Enemy from their place of advantage, his chief business being to hinder them from joining with the King. And if they had been able to preserve that temper, and had neglected the Enemy, till he had quitted his advantages, it is probable they might have Fought upon as good terms as they desired. But the unreasonable contempt they had of the Enemy, and confidence they should prevail in any ground, together with the straits they endured

B O O K for want of Provisions, and their want of Ammu-
VII. nition, which was spent as much in the daily Hedge-
 Skirmishes, and upon their Guards, being so near
 as could have been in Battle, would not admit the
 patience, for *Sir William Waller*, who was not to
 suffer that Body to join with the King, no sooner
 drew out his whole Army to *Lansdown*, which
 looked towards *Marsfield*, but they suffered them-
 selves to be engaged upon great disadvantage.

The Battle of
 Lansdown
 July 5.

It was upon the fifth of *July* when *Sir William Waller*, as soon as it was light, possessed himself of that Hill; and after he had, upon the brow of the Hill over the high-way, raised Breast-works with faggots and earth, and planted Cannon there, he sent a strong Party of Horse towards *Marsfield*; which quickly Alarmed the other Army, and was shortly driven back to their Body. As great a mind as the King's Forces had to cope with the Enemy, when they had drawn into Battalia, and found the Enemy fixed on the top of the Hill, they resolved not to attack them upon so great disadvantage; and so retired again towards their old Quarters: which *Sir William Waller* perceiving, sent his whole Body of Horse and Dragoons, down the Hill, to Charge the Rear and Flank of the King's Forces; which they did thoroughly, the Regiment of Cuirassiers so amazing the Horse they Charged, that they totally routed them; and, standing firm and unshaken themselves, gave so great terror to the King's Horse, who had never before turned from an Enemy, that no example of their Officers, who did Their parts with invincible Courage, could make them Charge

with the same confidence, and in the same manner they had usually done. However, in the end, after Sir *Nicholas Slanning* with three hundred Musqueteers, had fallen upon, and beaten their Reserve of Dragoons, Prince *Maurice*, and the Earl of *Carnarvon*, rallying their Horse, and winging them with the *Cornish* Musqueteers, Charged the Enemies Horse again, and totally routed them; and in the same manner received two Bodies more, and routed and chased them to the Hill; where they stood in a place almost inaccessible. On the brow of the Hill there were Breast-works, on which were pretty Bodies of small shot, and some Cannon; on either Flank grew a pretty thick Wood towards the declining of the Hill, in which strong Parties of Musqueteers were placed; at the Rear, was a very fair Plain, where the Reserves of Horse and Foot stood ranged; yet the *Cornish* Foot were so far from being appalled at this disadvantage, that they desired to fall on, and cried out, "that they might have leave to fetch off those Cannon." In the end, order was given to attempt the Hill with Horse and Foot. Two strong Parties of Musqueteers were sent into the Woods, which flanked the Enemy; and the Horse and other Musqueteers up the Road-way, which were Charged by the Enemies Horse, and Routed; then Sir *Bevil Greenvil* advanced with a Party of Horse, on his right hand, that ground being best for Them; and his Musqueteers on the left; himself leading up his Pikes in the middle; and in the face of their Cannon, and Small shot from the Breast-works, gained the brow of the Hill;

B O O K VII. having sustained two full Charges of the Enemies Horſe; but in the third Charge his Horſe failing, and giving ground, he received, after other wounds, a blow on the Head with a Poll-Axe, with which he fell, and many of his Officers about him; yet the Muſqueteers fired ſo faſt upon the Enemies Horſe, that they quitted their ground, and the two Wings, who were ſent to clear the Woods, having done their Work, and gained thoſe parts of the Hill, at the ſame time beat off their Enemies Foot, and became poſſeſſed of the Breſt works; and ſo made way for their whole Body of Horſe, Foot, and Cannon, to aſcend the Hill; which they quickly did, and planted themſelves on the ground they had won; the Enemy retiring about Demi-Culverin-ſhot behind a Stone-Wall upon the ſame Level, and ſtanding in-reasonable good order.

Either Party was ſufficiently tired, and battered, to be contented to ſtand ſtill. The King's Horſe were ſo ſhaken, that of two thouſand which were upon the Field in the morning, there were not above fix hundred on the top of the Hill. The Enemy was exceedingly ſcattered too, and had no mind to venture on plain ground with thoſe who had beaten them from the Hill: ſo that, exchanging only ſome ſhot from their Ordnance, they looked one upon another till the night interpoſed. About twelve of the Clock, it being very dark, the Enemy made a ſhow of moving towards the ground they had loſt; but giving a ſmart Volly of ſmall ſhot, and finding themſelves Anſwered with the like, they made no more noiſe; which the Prince obſerving, he ſent a

Common Soldier to hearken as near the place, where they were, as he could; who brought word, "that the Enemy had left lighted matches in the Wall behind which they had lain, and were drawn off the Field;" which was true; so that, as soon as it was day, the King's Army found themselves possessed entirely of the Field, and the Dead, and all other Ensigns of Victory: Sir *William Waller* being marched to *Bath*, in so much disorder and apprehension, that he left great store of Arms, and ten Barrels of Powder, behind him; which was a very seasonable supply to the other side, who had spent, in that day's Service, no less than fourscore Barrels, and had not a safe proportion left.

In this Battle, on the King's part, there were more Officers and Gentlemen of Quality slain, than Common Men; and more hurt, than slain. That which would have clouded any Victory, and made the loss of others less spoken of, was the death of Sir *Bevil Greenvil*. He was indeed an excellent Person, whose Activity, Interest, and Reputation, was the Foundation of what had been done in *Cornwal*; and his temper, and affections, so public, that no accident which happened, could make any impressions in him; and His example kept others from taking any thing ill, or at least seeming to do so. In a word, a brighter Courage, and a gentler Disposition, were never married together to make the most cheerful, and innocent conversation.

Very many Officers and Persons of Quality were hurt; as the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, shot in the thigh with a brace of Pistol-Bullets; Sir *Ralph Hopton*,

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Sir Bevil Greenvil slain.

BOOK VII. shot through the Arm with a Musquet; Sir *George Vaughan*, and many others, hurt in the head of their Troops with Swords and Poll-Axes; of which, none of name died. But the morning added much to the Melancholy of their Victory, when the Field was entirely their own. For Sir *Ralph Hopton* riding up and down the Field to visit the hurt Men, and to put the Soldiers in order, and readiness for motion, sitting on his Horse, with other Officers and Soldiers about him, near a Waggon of Ammunition, in which were eight Barrels of Powder; whether by treachery, or mere accident, is uncertain, the Powder was blown up; and many, who stood nearest, killed; and many more maimed; among whom Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and Serjeant-Major *Sheldon* were miserably hurt; of which, Major *Sheldon*, who was thought to be in less danger than the other, died the next day, to the general grief of the whole Army, where he was wonderfully beloved, as a Man of an undaunted Courage, and as great gentleness of Nature. Sir *Ralph Hopton*, having hardly so much life, as not to be numbered with the dead, was put into a Litter, and then the Army marched to their old Quarters at *Marsfield*; exceedingly cast down with their morning's misfortune (Sir *Ralph Hopton* being indeed the Soldiers darling) where they reposed themselves the next day, principally in care of Sir *Ralph Hopton*; who, though there were hope of his recovery, was not fit to travel. In this time many of the Horse, which had been routed in the morning, before the Hill was won, found the way to *Oxford*; and, according to the custom of those

who run away, reported all to be lost, with many particular accidents, which they fancied very like to happen when they left the Field; but the next day brought a punctual advertisement from the Marquis, but, withal, a desire of a Regiment or two of fresh Horse, and a supply of Ammunition; whereupon the Earl of *Crawford* with his Regiment of Horse, consisting of near five hundred, was directed to advance that way, with such a proportion of Ammunition as was desired.

After a day's rest at *Marsfield*, it being understood that Sir *William Waller* was still at *Bath* (his Army having been rather surpris'd and discomforted with the incredible boldness of the *Cornish* Foot, than much weakened by the Number slain, which was no greater than on the King's part) and that he had sent for fresh supply from *Bristol*; it was concluded, rather to march to *Oxford*, and so to join with the King's Army, than to stay and attend the Enemy, who was so near his supplies: And so they marched towards *Chippenham*. But when Sir *William Waller* had Intelligence of the blowing up of the Powder, of which he well knew there was scarcely enough before, and of the hurt it had done, he infused new spirit into his Men; and verily believed, that they had no Ammunition, and that the loss of Sir *Ralph Hopton* (whom the People took to be the Soul of that Army, the other Names being not so much spoken of, or so well known, and at this time believed to be dead) would be found in the Spirits of the Soldiers; and having gotten some fresh Men from *Bristol*, and more from the inclinations of the

B O O K three Counties of *Wils, Gloucester, and Somerſet*,
VII. which joined about *Bath*, in the moſt abſolute diſ-
 affected parts of all three, he followed the Marquis
 towards *Chippenham*; to which he was as near from
Bath, as the other from *Marsfield*.

The next day, early in the morning, upon notice
 that the Enemy was in diſtance, the Prince, and the
 Marquis drew back the Army through *Chippenham*,
 and preſented themſelves in Battalia to the Enemy;
 being very well contented to fight in ſuch a place,
 where the ſucceſs was to depend more on their
 Foot, who were unqueſtionably excellent, than
 on their Horſe, which were at beſt weary, though
 their Officers were, to Envy, forward and reſolute.
 But Sir *William Waller*, who was a right good
 chuſer of advantages, liked not that ground; re-
 lying as much upon his Horſe, who had gotten
 Credit; and Courage, and as little upon his Foot,
 who were only well Armed, and well Bodied, very
 vulgarly Spirited, and Officered: ſo that having
 ſtood all night in Battalia, and the Enemy not co-
 ming on, the Prince and Marquis, the next day,
 advanced towards the *Devizes*; Sir *Nicholas Slanning*,
 with great Spirit and Prudence, ſecuring the Rear
 with ſtrong Parties of Muſqueteers; with which he
 gave the Enemy, who preſſed upon them very
 ſmartly, ſo much Interruption, that Sir *William*
Waller, deſpairing of overtaking, ſent a Trumpet
 to the Marquis, with a Letter; offering a pitched
 Field at a place of his own chuſing, out of the way,
 The which being eaſily underſtood to be only a
 Stratagem to beget a delay in the march, the Mar-

quis carried the Trumpet three or four miles with him, and then sent him back with such an Answer as was fit. There were, all this day, perpetual and sharp skirmishes in the Rear; the Enemy pressing very hard, and being always with loss repulsed, till the Army safely reached the *Devizes*.

Then the case was altered for their retreat to *Oxford*, the Enemy being upon them with improvement of Courage, and improvement of Numbers; Sir *William Waller* having dispersed his Warrants over the Country, signifying, "that he had beaten the Marquis," and requiring the People "to rise in all places for the apprehension of his scattered, and dispersed Troops;" which confidence, Men conceived, could not proceed from less than a manifest Victory; and so they flocked to Him as the Master of the Field. The Foot were no more now to make the retreat, the situation of the place they were now in, being such as they could move no way towards *Oxford*, but over a Campaign of many miles, where the stronger in Horse must needs prevail.

Hereupon, it was unanimously advised, and consented to, that the Lord Marquis and Prince *Maurice* should that night break through, with all the Horse, to *Oxford*; and that Sir *Ralph Hopton* (who, by this, was supposed past danger of death, and could hear and speak well enough, though he could not see or stir) with the Earl of *Marlborough*, who was General of the Artillery, the Lord *Mohun*, and other good Officers of Foot, should stay there with their Foot, and Cannon, where it was hoped they might defend themselves, for a few days, till the General

B O O K might return with relief from *Oxford*; which was
VIL not above thirty miles off. This resolution was pursued; and, the same night, all the Horse got safe away into the King's Quarters, and the Prince, and Marquis, in the morning, came to *Oxford*; by which time, Sir *William Waller* had drawn all his Forces about the *Devizes*. The Town was open, without the least Fortification, or Defence, but small Ditches and Hedges; upon which the Foot were placed, and some pieces of Cannon conveniently planted. The Avenues, which were many, were quickly Barricadoed to hinder the entrance of the Horse, which was principally apprehended. Sir *William Waller* had soon notice of the remove of the Horse; and therefore, intending that pursuit no farther, he brought his whole Force close to the Town, and beleaguered it round; and having raised a Battery upon a Hill near the Town, he poured in his shot upon it without intermission, and attempted to enter in several other places with Horse, Foot, and Cannon; but was in all places more resolutely resisted, and repulsed. At the same time, having Intelligence (as his Intelligence was always most exact in whatsoever concerned him) of the Earl of *Crawford's* marching with a supply of Powder, according to order, after the first Battle of *Lansdown*, he sent a strong Party of Horse and Dragoons to intercept him; who, before he knew of the alterations which had happened, and of the remove of the Horse towards *Oxford*, was so far engaged, that he hardly escaped with the loss of his Ammunition, and a Troop or two of his Horse.

Upon this improvement of his success, Sir *William Waller* reckoned his Victory out of question; and thereupon sent a Trumpet into the Town to summon the besieged, to let them know, " that he had cut
 " off their relief, and that their State was now desperate; and therefore advised them to submit themselves to the Parliament, with whom he would
 " mediate on their behalf." They in the Town were not sorry for the Overture; not that they apprehended it would produce any conditions they should accept, but that they might gain some time of rest by it: for the straits they were in, were too great for any minds not prepared to preserve their honor at any rates. When the Enemy came first before the Town, and Guards were supplied with Ammunition for their duty, there was but one hundred and fifty weight of Match left in the Store; whereupon diligent Officers were directed to search every House in the Town, and to take all the Bed-cords they could find, and to cause them to be speedily beaten, and boiled. By this sudden expedient, there was, by the next morning, provided fifteen hundred weight of such serviceable Match, as very well endured that sharp service. The compass of the ground they were to keep, was so large, and the Enemy pressed so hard upon all places, that their whole Body were upon perpetual duty together, neither Officer, or Soldier having any time for rest; and the activity of the Chief-Officers was most necessary to keep up the Courage of the Common-Men, who well enough understood the danger they were in, and therefore they were very glad of this Message and returned, " that they

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" would send an Officer to Treat, if a Cessation were agreed to during the time of the Treaty;" which was consented to, if it were suddenly expedited.

On the Party of the Besieged were proposed such terms, as might take up most time in the Debate, and might imply Courage and Resolution to hold out. Sir *William Waller*, on the other hand, offered only Quarter, and civil usage to the Officers, and leave to the Common-Soldiers to return to their Houses without their Arms, except they would voluntarily chuse to serve the Parliament. These being terms many of the Officers would not have submitted to in the last extreme, the Treaty ended; after those in the Town had gained what they only looked for, seven or eight hours sleep, and so long time sparing of Ammunition. The truth is Sir *William Waller* was so confident that they were at his Mercy, that he had written to the Parliament, " that their work was done, and that, by the next Post, he would send the Number, and Quality of his Prisoners;" neither did he imagine it possible, that any relief could have been sent from *Oxford*; the Earl of *Essex*, to whom he had signified his success, and the posture he was in, lying with his whole Army at *Thame*, within ten miles of it. But the importance was too well understood by the King to omit any thing, that might, with the utmost hazard, be attempted for the redeeming those Men, who had wrought such wonders for him. And therefore, as soon as the Marquis, and Prince, arrived at *Oxford*, with the sad and unexpected news, and relation of the distress of their Friends, though the Queen was then

then on her march towards *Oxford*, and the King had appointed to meet her two days Journey for her security, his Majesty resolved to take only his own Guards of Horse, and Prince *Rupert's* Regiment, for that expedition; and sent the Lord *Wilmot* with all the rest of the Horse, to march that very day in which the advertisment came to him, towards the *Devizes*; so that the Marquis and the Prince coming to *Oxford*, on the *Monday* morning, the Lord *Wilmot*, that night, moved towards the work; and Prince *Maurice* returning with him as a Volunteer, but the Lord *Wilmot* Commanding in Chief, appeared, on the *Wednesday* about noon, upon the plain within two miles of the Town.

The Lord *Wilmot* had with him fifteen hundred Horse, and no more, and two small Field-pieces, which he shot off, to give the Town notice of his coming; having it in his hopes, that, it being a fair Campaign about the Town, when the Enemy should rise from before it, he should be able in spite of them to join with the Foot, and so to have a fair Field for it; which would be still disadvantageous enough, the Enemy being Superior by much in Horse, very few of those, who had broken away from the *Devizes* (except the Prince himself, the Earl of *Carnarvon*, and some other Officers) being come up with them, because they were tired, and dispersed. The Enemy, careful to prevent the joining of this Party of Horse with the Foot, and fully advertised of their coming, drew off, on all parts, from the Town; and put themselves in Battalia upon the top of a fair Hill, called *Roundway Down*; over which the King's Forces were necessarily to

B O O K march, being full two miles off the Town; they
VII. within conceived it hardly possibly, that the relief, they expected from *Oxford*, could so soon arrive; all the Messengers, who were sent to give notice of it, having miscarried by the closeness of the Siege; and therefore suspected the warning-pieces from the Plain, and the drawing off the Town by the Enemy to be a Stratagem to cozen the Foot from those Posts they defended, into the open Field; and so very reasonably, being in readiness to march, they waited a surer Evidence, that their Friends were at hand; which shortly arrived, and assured them, “ that the Prince was near and expected them.”

It will be easily conceived, with what alacrity they advanced to meet him; but Sir *William Waller* had purposely chose that ground to hinder that conjunction, and advanced so fast, on the Lord *Wilmot*, that without such removes, and traverses, as might give his Men some apprehension, that Lord could not expect the Foot from the Town; and therefore he put his Troops in Order upon that ground to expect the Enemies Charge, who were somewhat more than Musquet-shot off in order of Battle.

Here Sir *William Waller*, out of pure gaiety, departed from an advantage he could not again recover; for being in excellent order of Battle, with strong wings of Horse to his Foot, and a good Reserve placed, and his Cannon usefully planted, apprehending still the conjunction between the Horse and the Foot in the Town, and gratifying his Enemy with the same contempt, which had so often brought inconveniences upon them, and discerning their

number Inferior to that he had before (as he thought) mastered, he marched, with his whole Body of Horse, from his Foot, to Charge the Enemy; appointing Sir *Arthur Haslerig* with his Cuirassiers apart, to make the first impression; who was encountered by Sir *John Byron*, in whose Regiment the Earl of *Carnarvon* Charged as a Volunteer; and after a sharp conflict, in which Sir *Arthur Haslerig* received many wounds, that impenetrable Regiment was Routed, and, in a full Career, chased upon their other Horse. At the same time, the Lord *Wilmot* Charging them from division to division, as they were ranged, in half an hour, so sudden Alterations the accidents of War introduce, the whole entire Body of the Triumphant Horse were so totally Routed, and Dispersed, that there was not one of them to be seen upon that large spacious Down; every Man shifting for himself with greater danger by the Precipices, of that Hill, than he could have undergone by opposing his pursuer. But as it was an unhappy ground to fly, so it was ill for the pursuer; and after the Rout, more perished by falls and bruises from their Horses, down the Precipices, than by the Sword. The Foot stood still firm, making show of a gallant Resistance, but the Lord *Wilmot* quickly seized their Cannon, and turned them upon them, at the same time that the *Cornish* Foot, who were by this come from the Town, were ready likewise to Charge them; upon which their hearts failed; and so they were Charged on all sides, and either killed, or taken Prisoners, very few escaping; the *Cornish* retaining too fresh a Memory of their late distresses, and revenging themselves on those who had contri-

The Battle of
Roundway-
Down,
wherein Sir
William
Waller is
Routed.

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buted thereunto, Sir *William Waller* himself, with a small Train, fled into *Bristol*, which had sacrificed a great part of their Garrison in his Defeat; and so were even ready to expire at his entry into the Town, himself bringing the first news of his disaster.

This glorious day, for it was a day of Triumph, redeemed for that time the King's whole Affairs, so that all Clouds that shadowed them seemed to be dispelled, and a bright light of success to shine over the whole Kingdom. There were in this Battle slain, on the Enemies part, above six hundred on the place; nine hundred Prisoners taken, besides two or three hundred retaken and redeemed, whom they had gathered up in the Skirmishes, and pursuit; with all their Cannon, being eight pieces of Brass-Ordnance; all their Arms, Ammunition, Waggon, Baggage, and Victual; eight-and-twenty Foot-Ensigns, and nine Cornets; and all this by a Party of fifteen hundred Horse, with two small Field-pieces (for the Victory was perfect upon the matter, before the *Cornish* came up; though the Enemies Foot were suffered to stand in a Body uncharged, out of ceremony, till They came; that they might be refreshed with a share in the Conquest) against a Body of full two thousand Horse, five hundred Dragoons, and near three thousand Foot, with an excellent Train of Artillery. So that the *Cornish* had great reason to think their deliverance, and Victory at *Roundway*, more signal and wonderful, than the other at *Stratton*, save that the first might be thought the Parent of the latter, and the loss on the King's Party was less; for in This there were slain very few; and, of Name, none but

Dudley Smith, an honest and valiant young Gentleman, who was always a Volunteer with the Lord *Wilmot*, and among the first upon any action of danger. BOOK
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Besides the present fruit of this Victory, the King received an advantage from the Jealousy, that, from thence, grew among the Officers of the Parliament-Armies. For Sir *William Waller* believed himself to be absolutely betrayed, and sacrificed by the Earl of *Essex*, out of envy at the great things he had done, which seemed to eclipse His Glories; and complained; "that he lying with his whole Army within ten miles of *Oxford*, should suffer the Chief strength of that place to march thirty miles to destroy him, without so much as sending out a Party to follow them, or to Alarm *Oxford*, by which they would have been probably recalled." On the other hand, the Earl, disdaining to be thought his Rival, reproached the other with "unsoldierly neglects, and want of Courage, to be beaten by a handful of Men, and to have deserted his Foot and Cannon, without engaging his own Person in one Charge against the Enemy." Wherever the fault was, it was never forgiven; but from the Enmity that proceeded from thence, the King often afterwards reaped very notable, and seasonable advantages; which will be remembered in their places.

This blessed Defeat happened to be upon the same day, and upon the same time of the day, when the King met the Queen upon the Field near *Keinton*, under *Edge-hill*, where the Battle had been fought in *October* before; and before their Majesties came to *Oxford*, they received the happy news of it. It is

BOOK VII. easy to imagine the joy with which it was received, all Men raising their fallen Spirits to too great a height, as though they should now go through all the work without farther opposition; and this transport to either extremes was too natural upon all the Vicissitudes of the War; and it was some allay to the welcome news of the Victory to some Men, that it had been obtained under the Command and Conduct of *Wilmot*; who was very much in Prince *Rupert's* disesteem, and not in any notable degree of favor with the King, but much beloved by all the good fellowship of the Army; which was too great a Body. It was now time for the King's Army, Victorious in so many Encounters, to take the Field; upon What Enterprize, was the Question. This overthrow of *Waller* had infinitely surprised, and increased the distractions at *London*. They had seen the Copy of the Warrants, which his vanity had caused to be dispersed, after the Action at *Lansdown*; in which he declared, " that he had Routed the Marquis's Army " and was in pursuit of them; and therefore Com-
 " manded the Justices of Peace, and Constables, to
 " give order for the apprehension of them, as they
 " fled dispersed;" and expected every day, that the Marquis would be sent up Prisoner: and now to hear that his whole invincible Army was defeated, and himself fled, upon the matter alone (for ill news is for the most part made worse, as the best is reported to be better than it is) brought them to their Wits ends; so that they could little advance the recruiting the Earl of *Essex* his Army; who in his Person likewise grew more sullen towards them, and resented

their little regard of him, and grew every day more conversant with the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Holland*, and others who were most weary of the War, and would be glad of Peace upon easy terms.

The King's Army received a fair addition, by the conjuncture with those Forces which attended the Queen; for her Majesty brought with her above two thousand Foot, well Armed, and one thousand Horse, and six pieces of Cannon, and two Mortars, and about one hundred Waggon: So that as soon as their Majesties came to *Oxford*, the Earl of *Essex*, who had spent his time about *Thame*, and *Aylesbury*, without any Action after that Skirmish in which Mr. *Hambden* was slain, safe by small Parties of which there was none of Name; or Note, but one handsome smart conflict between a Party of five hundred Horse and Dragoons, Commanded by Colonel *Middleton*, a Scotch-man, on the Parliamept. Party, and a Regiment of Horse, Commanded by Sir *Charles Lucas*, on the King's; where, after a very Soldierly contest, and more blood drawn than was usual upon such Actions, the King's Party prevailed, returning with some Prisoners of Name, and the slaughter of one hundred of their Enemy, not without some loss of their own: The Earl, I say, retired with his Army broken, and disheartened to *Uxbridge*, giving over any thought of fighting with the King, till he should be recruited, with Horse, Men, and Money; and suffering no less in the talk of the People (who began to assume a great freedom in discourse) for not interposing to hinder the Queen's march to *Oxford*, and joining with the King, than for sitting still so near

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The King
meets the
Queen near
Kinton: she
coming with a
great Recruit.

The Earl of
Essex retires
from Thame
with his Army
to Uxbridge.

B O O K *Oxford*, whilst the Lord *Wilmot* went from thence
VII. to the ruin of Sir *William Waller*.

After which Defeat, the Lord *Wilmot* retired to *Oxford* to attend his Majesty; and the *Cornish Army* (for that name it deservedly kept still, though it received so good an increase by the Marquis, and Prince's joining with them) drew back, and possessed themselves of *Bath*, which was soon quitted to them, upon the overthrow of *Waller*; that Garrison being withdrawn to reinforce *Bristol*. At *Bath* they rested, and refreshed themselves, till they might receive new Orders from the King; who, upon full advice, and consideration of the State he was in, and the broken condition of the Enemy, resolved to make an attempt upon the City of *Bristol*; to which Prince *Rupert* was most inclined, for his being disappointed in a former design; and where there were many well affected to the King's Service from the beginning, and more since the execution of those two eminent Citizens. And the disesteem generally had of the Courage of *Nathaniel Fiennes*, the Governor, made the design to be thought the more reasonable; so the Marquis, and Prince *Maurice*, returned to *Bath*, upon agreement to appear, on such a day, with their whole strength before *Bristol*, on the *Somersetshire* side, when Prince *Rupert* with the *Oxford*-Forces would appear before it, on the *Glocestershire*-side.

On the four and- twentieth of *July*, both Armies sat down before it; Quartersing their Horse in that manner, that none could go out or into the City, without great hazard of being taken; and the same

Bristol Besieged by Prince Rupert.

day, with the assistance of some Seamen, who were prepared before, they seized all the Ships that were in *King-road*; which were not only laden with goods of great value, as Plate, Money, and the best sort of all Commodities, which those who suspected the worst had sent abroad, but with many Persons of Quality; who, being unwilling to run the hazard of a Siege, thought that way to have secured themselves, and to have escaped to *London*; and so were all taken Prisoners. The next day, Prince *Rupert* came to his Brother, and the Marquis, and a general Council of all the principal Officers of both Armies being assembled, it was Debated, “in what Manner, they should proceed; by Assault or Approach.”

There were in the Town five-and-twenty hundred Foot, and a Regiment of Horse and Dragoons; the Line about the Town was finished; yet in some places the graff was wider, and deeper than in others. The Castle within the Town was very well prepared, and supplied with great store of Provisions to endure a Siege. The opinions were several: The Officers of the *Cornish* were of opinion, “that it was best to proceed by way of Approach; because, the ground being very good, it would in a very short time be done; and since there was no Army of the Enemy in a possibility to relieve it, the securest way would be the best; whereas the Works were so good, that they must expect to lose very many Men; and, if they were beaten off, all their Summer-hopes would be destroyed; it not being easy, again to make up the spirit of

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“ the Army for a new Action. Besides, they alledged,
“ the well affected Party in the City, which was
“ believed to be very great, would, after they
“ had been closely Besieged three or four days,
“ have a greater influence upon the Soldier, and
“ be able to do more towards the Surrender, than
“ they could upon a Storm; when they would
“ be equally sensible of the disorder of the Soldier,
“ and their own damage by plunder, as the other;
“ and the too late example of the executed Citi-
“ zens, would keep Men from offering at any in-
“ surrection in the City.”

On the other hand, Prince *Rupert*, and all the
Officers of His Army very earnestly desired to Assault
it, alledging, “ the Work to be easy, and the Sol-
diers fitter for any brisk attempt, than a dull
“ patient design; and that the Army would be more
“ weakened by the latter, than the former: that
“ the City, not having yet recovered the consterna-
“ tion of Sir *William Waller's* Defeat, was so full
“ of horror, that it would make a very weak De-
“ fence: that there was no Soldier of experience in
“ the Town, and the Governor himself not like to
“ endure the terror of a Storm: whereas, if they
“ gave them time to consider, and to look long
“ upon them with a Wall between, they would
“ grow confirmed, and resolute, and courage would
“ supply the place of skill; and having plenty of all
“ kinds of Provisions within the Town, they would
“ grow strong, and peremptory, whilst the Be-
“ siegers grew less vigorous, and disheartened.”
These reasons, and the Prince's importunity, with

some insinuations of knowing more than was fit to be spoken, as if somewhat would be done within the Town, that must not be mentioned; and a glorious contempt of danger, prevailed so far, that it was consented to, on all parts, to Assault the Town the next morning at three places on the *Somersetshire*-side, and at three places on the *Glocestershire*-side, at the break of day. The truth is, both opinions, with regard to their different circumstances, were in themselves reasonable. For the *Glocestershire*-side, where Prince *Rupert* was, might be Stormed, the graff being shallow, and the Wall, in some places, low, and weak; which could not be easily Approached, by reason the ground was rocky, and the redoubts high and very strong, which overlooked the ground; on the other side, the ground was very easy to Approach, and as inconvenient, and dangerous to Storm, by reason of a plain level before the Line, and a broad and deep graff, and the Line, throughout, better flankered than the other.

The next morning, with little other Provisions fit for such a Work, than the Courage of the Assailants, both Armies fell on. On the West side, where the *Cornish* were, they assaulted the Line in three places; one division led by Sir *Nicholas Slanning*, assisted with Colonel *John Trevannion*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Slingby*, and three more Field-Officers; too great a number of such Officers to conduct so small a Party as five hundred Men; if there had not been an immoderate disdain of danger, and appetite of glory: Another division, on the right hand, was led by Colonel *Buck*, assisted by Colonel *Wagstaffe*,

B O O K Colonel *Bernard Ashley*, who commanded the Regiment of the Lord Marquis *Hertford*, with other Field-Officers: And the third division, on the left hand, led by Sir *Thomas Bassett*, who was Major-General of the *Cornish*. These three divisions fell on together with that Courage, and Resolution, as nothing but death could control; and though the middle division got into the grass, and so near filled it, that some mounted the Wall, yet by the prodigious disadvantage of the ground, and the full defence the Besieged made within, they were driven back with a great slaughter; the Common-Soldiers, after their Chief-Officers were killed, or desperately wounded, finding it a bootless attempt.

On Prince *Rupert's* side, it was Assaulted with equal Courage, and almost equal loss, but with better success; for though that division led on by the Lord *Grandison*, Colonel-General of the Foot, was beaten off, the Lord *Grandison* himself being hurt; and the other, led by Colonel *Bellasis*, likewise had no better fortune; yet Colonel *Washington*, with a less Party, finding a place in the Curtain (between the places Assaulted by the other two) weaker than the rest, entered, and quickly made room for the Horse to follow. The Enemy, as soon as they saw the Line entered in one place, either out of fear, or by Command of their Officers, quit their Posts; so that the Prince entered with his Foot and Horse into the Suburbs; sending for one thousand of the *Cornish* Foot, which were presently sent to second him; and marched up to *Fromegate*, losing many Men, and some very good Officers, by shot

from the Walls, and Windows; in so much as all Men were much cast down to see so little gotten with so great a loss; for they had still a more difficult entrance into the Town, than they had yet passed, and where their Horse could be of no use to them; when, to the exceeding comfort of Generals, and Soldiers, the City beat a Parley; which the Prince willingly embracing, and getting their Hostages into his hands, sent Colonel *Gerrard* and another Officer to the Governor to Treat. The Treaty began about two of the Clock in the afternoon, and, before ten at night, the Articles were agreed on, and signed by all Parties.

1. " That the Governor, *Nathaniel Fiennes*, together with all the Officers both of Horse and Foot, now within, and about the City of *Bristol*, Castle, and Forts, may march out to morrow morning by nine of the Clock, with their full Arms, Bag and Baggage, provided it be their own Goods: And that the Common Foot-Soldiers march out without Arms, and the Troopers with their Horses, and Swords, leaving their other Arms behind them, with a safe Convey to *Warminster*; and after, not to be molested in their march, by any of the King's Forces, for the space of three days.
2. " That there may be Carriages allowed and provided to carry away their Bag and Baggage, and sick and hurt Soldiers.
3. " That the King's Forces march not into the Town, till the Parliament-Forces are marched out; which is to be at nine of the Clock.
4. " That all Prisoners in the City be delivered

It is Surrendered upon Articles.

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B O O K “ up; and that Captain *Eyres*, and Captain *Cookein*,
 VII. “ who were taken at the *Devizes*, be released.

5. “ That Sir *John Horner*, Sir *John Seymour*, Mr.
 “ *Edward Stevens*, and all other Knights, Gentle-
 “ men, Citizens, and other Persons, that are now
 “ in the City, may, if they please, with their Goods,
 “ Wives, and Families, Bag and Baggage, have
 “ free liberty to return to their own homes, or
 “ elsewhere, and there to rest in safety, or ride,
 “ and travel with the Governor, and Forces: and
 “ such of them, and their Families, as shall be left
 “ behind, by reason of sickness or other cause, may
 “ have liberty, so soon as they can conveniently,
 “ to depart this Town with safety; provided that
 “ all Gentlemen, and other Persons, shall have three
 “ days liberty to reside here, or depart with their
 “ Goods, which they please.

6. “ That all the Inhabitants of the City shall be
 “ secured in their Persons, Families, and Estates,
 “ free from plundering, and all other violence, or
 “ wrong whatsoever.

7. “ That the Charters, and Liberties of this
 “ City may be preserved; and that the Ancient
 “ Government thereof, and present Governors, and
 “ Officers, may remain and continue in their former
 “ condition, according to his Majesty's Charters,
 “ and Pleasure.

8. “ That, for avoiding Inconveniences and Dis-
 “ tractions, the quartering of Soldiers be referred,
 “ or left to the Mayor, and Governor of the same
 “ City for the time being.

9. “ That all such, as have carried any Goods

“ into the Castle may have free liberty to carry the same forth. B O O K
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10. “ That the Forces, that are to march out, are to leave behind them all Cannon, and Ammunition, with their Colors, and such Arms as is before expressed.”

The next morning, if not before (for the truth is, from the time that the Treaty was first offered, they in the Town kept no Guards, nor observed any order; but Their Soldiers run away to the Prince, and many of His Soldiers went into the Town) his Highness was possessed of *Bristol*, the Enemy then marching away. Here the ill example of *Reading*, in the breach of the Articles, was remembered, and unhappily followed; for all that Garrison was now here. So that they, with some Color of right, or retaliation, and the rest, by Their example, used great Licence to the Soldiers, who should have been safely conducted; which reflected much upon the Prince, though he used his utmost power to suppress it; and charged Colonel *Fiennes* to be accessary to his own wrong, by marching out of the Town an hour before his appointment; and thereby his Convoy was not ready; and at another Gate than was appointed and agreed on. And as the Articles were thus unhappily violated to those who went away, so they were not enough observed to those who stayed, and to the City itself: for many of Colonel *Fiennes*'s Soldiers taking conditions, and entering with the King's Army, instructed their new Friends, Who were most disaffected; so that one whole Street upon the Bridge,

BOOK VII. the Inhabitants whereof lay under some brand of Malignity, though, no doubt, there were many honest Men among them, was almost totally plundered; which, because there was but little Justice done upon the Transgressors, was believed to be done by connivance from the Officers, and more discredited the King's Forces, and his Cause, than was then taken notice of, or discovered. It was a noble attribute given to the brave *Fabricius*, *qui aliquid esse crederet & in hostem nefas*. I wish I could excuse those swervings from Justice, and Right, which were too frequently practised against Contracts, under the notion, that they, with whom they were made, were Rebels, and could not be too ill used; when, as the cause deserved, so it needed all the ingenuity, and integrity, in the propugners of it, to keep despair from the Guilty, who were by much too numerous for the Innocent.

This reduction of *Bristol* was a full tide of prosperity to the King, and made him Master of the second City of his Kingdom, and gave him the undisturbed possession of one of the richest Counties of the Kingdom (for the Rebels had now no standing Garrison, or the least visible influence upon any part of *Somersetshire*) and rendered *Wales* (which was before well affected, except some Towns in *Pembrokeshire*) more useful to him; being freed of the fear of *Bristol*, and consequently of the charge, that always attends those fears; and restored to the Trade with *Bristol*; which was the greatest support of those parts. Yet the King might very well have said, what King *Pyrrhus* heretofore did, after his
second

second Battle, by the City of *Asculum*, with the *Romans*, where he won the Victory; "If We win another at this price, We are utterly undone." And truly his Majesty's loss before this Town, was inestimable, and very hard to be repaired. I am persuaded there were slain, upon the several Assaults, of Common Men, but such as were tried and incomparable Foot, about five hundred; and abundance of excellent Officers, whereof many were of prime Command, and Quality.

On the *Cornish* side, fell, besides Major *Kendall*, and many other Inferior Officers, excellent in their degree; Colonel *Buck*, a modest and a stout Commander, and of good experience in War; who having got over the Graff, and even to the top of the Wall, was knocked down with a Halbert, and perished in the Graff: Sir *Nicholas Slanning*, and Colonel *John Trevannion*, the Life and Soul of the *Cornish* Regiments, whose memories can never be enough celebrated; who being led by no impulsion, but of Conscience, and their own observation of the ill practices and designs of the great Conductors (for they both were of the House of Commons) engaged themselves with the first in the opposition; and as soon as Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and those other Gentlemen came into *Cornwal*, joined with them; and being both of singular Reputation, and good Fortunes there, the one in Possession, the other in Reversion after his Father, they engaged their Persons and Estates in the Service; rather doing great things, than affecting that it should be taken notice of to be done by them; applying themselves to all infirmities, and

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condefcending to all Capacities, for removing all obstructions, which accidentally arofe among thofe, who could only prosper by being of one mind Sir *Nicholas Slanning* was Governor of *Pendennis-Caftle*, upon the credit and security whereof, the King's Party in that Country firft depended, and by the Command it had of the Harbour of *Falmouth*, was, or might be, fupplied with all that was neceffary. He was indeed a young Man of admirable parts, a fharp and difcerning Wit, a ftayed and folid Judgment, a gentle and moft obliging Behaviour, and a Courage fo clear and keen, as, even without the other ornaments, would have rendered him very confiderable: They were both young, neither of them above eight-and-twenty, of entire friendship to one another, and to Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, whose body was not yet buried; they were both hurt almoft in the fame minute, and in the fame place; both fhot in the thigh with Mufquet-Bullets; their bones broken, the one dying prefently, the other fome few days after; and both had the Royal facrifice of their Sovereign's very particular forrow, and the concurrence of all good Men's; and, that which is a greater folemnity to their memories, as it fares with moft great and virtuous Men, whose lofs is better underftood long afterwards, they were as often lamented, as the accidents in the public Affairs made the Courage, and Fidelity of the *Cornifh* of greateft fignification to the Caufe.

On the North-fide, of Prince *Rupert's Army*, fell very many good Officers, the chief of whom was Colonel *Henry Lunsford*, an Officer of extraordinary Sobriety, Induftry, and Courage; near whom, his

excellent Lieutenant-Colonel *Moyle* was likewise hurt, and died within few days, both shot out of a Window after they had entered the Suburbs. There were hurt, the Lord Viscount *Grandison*, Nephew to the Great Duke of *Buckingham*, who was Colonel General of the King's Foot; Colonel *John Bellasis*, since Lord *Belasis*; Colonel *Bernard Ashley*; Colonel Sir *John Owen*; and many other Officers of name, of whom none of Quality died of their wounds but the Lord *Grandison*; whose loss can never be enough lamented. He was a young Man of so virtuous a habit of mind, that no temptation or provocation could corrupt him; so great a Lover of Justice, and Integrity, that no example, necessity, or even the barbarity of this War, could make him swerve from the most precise Rules of it; and of that rare Piety and Devotion, that the Court, or Camp, could not show a more faultless Person, or to whose example young Men might more reasonably conform themselves. His Personal Valor, and Courage of all kinds (for he had sometimes indulged so much to the Corrupt opinion of Honor, as to venture himself in Duels) was very eminent, insomuch as he was accused of being too prodigal of his Person; his Affection, and Zeal, and Obedience, to the King, was such as became a branch of that Family. And he was wont to say, "that if he had not understanding enough to know the uprightness of the Cause, nor Loyalty enough to inform him of the Duty of a Subject, yet the very obligations of Gratitude to the King, on the behalf of his House, were such, as his Life was but a due Sacrifice;" and therefore,

B O O K he no sooner saw the War unavoidable, than he engaged all his Brethren, as well as himself in the Service; and there were then three more of them in Command in the Army, where he was so unfortunately cut off.

VIL

As soon as the News of the taking of *Bristol* came to the King at *Oxford*, after a solemn Thanksgiving to God for the Success, which was immediately, and publicly performed, his Majesty assembled his Privy-Council, to consider how this great Blessing in War might be applied to the procuring a happy Peace; and that this might be the last Town he should purchase at the price of blood. It was evident, that, as this last Victory added great lustre, and beauty to the whole face of his Affairs, so it would produce an equal paleness, and be an ominous preface to the Parliament; where the Jealousies and Apprehensions between themselves still grew higher, and new remedies still proposed, which were generally thought worse than the disease.

Upon the News of the Lord *Fairfax's* being Defeated in the North, which came about this time, they resolved to send a Committee of the two Houses into *Scotland*, "to desire their Brethren of that Kingdom presently to advance with an Army for their Relief;" which was thought so desperate a Cure, that the Lords naming the Earl of *Rutland*, and Lord *Grey of Warke*, for that Embassy, the Earl upon indisposition of Health procured a release; and the other, who had never declined any employment they would confer on him, so peremptorily refused to meddle in it, that he was committed to the Tower;

The two Houses send Commissioners into Scotland for relief

and in the end, they were compelled to depute only Commoners to that Service: and so Sir *William Armyne*, young Sir *Henry Vane*, and two more, assisted with Mr. *Marshall* and Mr. *Nye*, two of their powerful Clergy, were embarked in that Negotiation; upon which, they who sent them, were so far from being confident, and so little satisfied, that they should be driven to bring in Foreign Forces, with the purpose whereof they had so long traduced the King, that there was, some few desperate Persons only excepted, even a universal desire of Peace; and the Earl of *Essex* Himself, writing to the Speaker of the House of Commons, of the defects in his Army, and of his wants of Horse, Men, and Money, advised, "that they would think of sending some reasonable Propositions to the King, for the procuring a Safe Peace;" which being the first intimation, he had ever given to that purpose, together with his familiarity, and correspondence with those Lords, who were known passionately to desire an accommodation, gave them sad apprehensions; which were increased by some severe Messages they received from him, for his Vindication from the foul Aspersions, and Calumnies, which were generally and publicly laid on him, for his inactivity after the winning *Reading*, whilst the Queen marched securely to *Oxford*, and Sir *William Waller* was destroyed; as if "he would think of some way of righting Himself, if They were not sensible on His behalf."

How to work upon these discomposed humors, and to reduce them to such temper, that they might

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consent to the Kingdom's Peace, was the Argument of the King's consultations: but by what Expedient to promote this, was the Difficulty. After the breach of the last Treaty, and when the King had in vain labored to revive it, and could not procure any Answer from them to his last Messages; but instead thereof his Messenger imprisoned, tried before a Council of War for his Life, and still in custody, and a Declaration, "that whosoever should be employed by his Majesty, on any Message to them, without Their leave, should be proceeded against as a Spy (so that though they pretended to be his great Council, they upon the matter now protested against any relation to his Majesty) he advised with his Council, "what might be fit for him to do, to lessen the Reverence and Reputation of them with the People:" for the superstition towards the name of a Parliament was so general, that the King had wisely forbore to charge the two Houses with the Treason, and Rebellion which was raised, but imputed it to particular Persons, who were most visibly and actually engaged in it. Some were of opinion, "that, all the Members who stayed there, and sat in either House, being guilty of so many Treasonable-Acts, thereby the Parliament was actually dissolved, by the same reason, as a Corporation, by great Misdemeanour and Crime, might forfeit their Charter; and therefore that the King should, by his Proclamation, declare the dissolution of it, and then consider whether it were fit to call another:" but this opinion was generally disliked, both "because it was conceived not to

" be just ; for the Treason of those who were pre-
 " sent, could not forfeit the right of those who were
 " away ; neither was it evident, that all that were
 " present, consented to the ill that was done ; and
 " the King's declaring a Parliament to be dissolved,
 " contrary to an Act of Parliament, was believed,
 " would prove an Act so ungracious to the People,
 " for the consequences of it, that the King would
 " be an exceeding loser by such an attempt ; and
 " that many, in such a case, would return thither,
 " who out of conscience had withdrawn from that
 " Assembly."

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In Conclusion, the advice was unanimous, " that
 " his Majesty should declare the Orders, and Pro-
 " ceedings of one or both Houses to be void, by
 " reason the Members did not enjoy the Freedom
 " and Liberty of Parliament ; and therefore should
 " require his good Subjects, no longer to be misled
 " by them : " and, to that purpose, the King had
 issued his Proclamation six Weeks before this happy
 turn in his Affairs, so that he could not now send a
 Message to them, as to two Houses of Parliament,
 lest he might seem to retract his former judgment of
 them, which was concluded to be both regular and
 just. Upon the whole matter, lest his Majesty might
 be understood to be so much elated with his good
 successes, and the increase of his Strength, that he
 aimed at no less than a perfect Victory, and the ruin
 of those who had incensed him (by which insinua-
 tions they who could not forgive themselves, endea-
 voured to make all others desperate) he was resolved
 to publish such a Declaration to the whole Kingdom,

B O O K that both Houses, and their Army, could not but
VII. take notice of; and might, if they were inclined to
 it, thence take a rise to make any Overtures to him
 towards an atonement. To that purpose, the next
 day after he received the assurance of the taking of
Bristol, his Majesty published this ensuing Declara-
 tion; which I shall enter in his own words.

*His Majesty's Declaration to all his loving Subjects,
 after his Victories over the Lord Fairfax in the
 North, Sir William Waller in the West, and the
 taking of Bristol by his Majesty's Forces.*

The King's
 Declaration
 after his late
 successes.

“ As the grievances and losses of no particular
 “ Persons, since these miserable bloody distempers
 “ have disquieted this poor Kingdom, can be com-
 “ pared to the loss and damage We ourself have sus-
 “ tained, there having been no Victory obtained
 “ but in the blood of our own Subjects, nor no
 “ rapine or violence committed, but to the impo-
 “ verishment and ruin of our own People; so, a
 “ blessed and happy Peace cannot be so acceptable
 “ and Welcome to any Man, as to Us. Almighty
 “ God, to whom all the secrets of Our heart are
 “ open, who hath so often and so miraculously
 “ preserved Us, and to whose power alone We
 “ must attribute the goodness of our present condi-
 “ tion (how unhappy soever it is with reference to
 “ the public Calamities) knows, with what unwill-
 “ ingness with what anguish of Soul, We submit-
 “ ted ourself to the Necessity of taking up Defensive
 “ Arms. And the World knows with what justice
 “ and bounty We have repaired our Subjects, for

“ all the pressures and inconveniencies they had
 “ borne, by such excellent Laws, as would for
 “ ever have prevented the like; and with what ear-
 “ nestness and importunity We desired to add any
 “ thing, for the establishment of the Religion, Laws,
 “ and Liberty of the Kingdom. How all these have
 “ been disturbed, invaded, and almost destroyed,
 “ by Faction, Sedition, and Treason, by those,
 “ who have neither Reverence to God, nor Affec-
 “ tion to Men, but have sacrificed Both to their
 “ own ends and ambition, is now so evident, that
 “ We hope, as God hath wonderfully manifested
 “ his care of Us, and his defence of His and Our
 “ most just Cause; so, he hath so far touched the
 “ hearts of our People, that their Eyes are at last
 “ opened to see how miserably they have been se-
 “ duced, and to abhor those Persons, whose malice
 “ and subtlety had seduced them to dishonor Him,
 “ to rebel against Us, and to bring much misery and
 “ calamity upon their native Country.

“ We well remember the Protestation voluntarily
 “ made by Us, in the head of that small Army we
 “ were Master of in *September* last, to defend and
 “ maintain the true Reformed Protestant Religion:
 “ And if it should please God, by his blessing upon
 “ that Army, to preserve Us from this Rebellion,
 “ that We would maintain the just Privileges and
 “ Freedom of Parliament, and govern by the known
 “ Laws of the Land; for whose Defence, in truth
 “ that Army was only raised, and hath been since
 “ kept. And there cannot be a more seasonable time
 “ to renew that Protestation than Now, when God

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“ hath vouchsafed Us so many Victories and Successes, and hath rendered the power of those, who seek to destroy Us, less formidable than it hath been (so that We shall probably not fall under the scandalous imputation, which hath usually attended Our Messiges of Peace, that they proceed from the weakness of our power, not love of our People) and when there is more freedom in many Counties, for our good Subjects to receive true information of their own, and Our condition; the knowledge whereof hath been, with equal industry and injustice, kept from them, as other Acts of cruelty have been imposed on them.

“ We do therefore declare to all the world, in the presence of Almighty God, to whom We must give a strict account of all our Professions and Protestations, that We are so far from intending any alteration of the Religion established (as hath been often falsely, scandalously, and against the Conscience of the Contrivers themselves of that rumor suggested to our People) or from the least thought of invading the Liberty and Property of the Subject, or violating the just Privileges of Parliament, that We call that God to witness, *who hath covered our head in the day of Battle*, that We desire from our Soul, and shall always use our utmost endeavour to preserve, and advance the true Reformed Protestant Religion established in the Church of *England*; in which We were born, have faithfully lived, and, by the grace of God, shall resolutely die: That the preservation of the Liberty and

“ Property of the Subject, in the due observation
“ of the known Laws of the Land, shall be equally
“ our care, as the maintenance of our own Rights;
“ We desiring to govern only by those good Laws,
“ which, till they were oppressed by this odious
“ Rebellion, preserved this Nation happy. And
“ We do acknowledge the just Privileges of Parlia-
“ ment to be an essential part of those Laws, and
“ shall therefore most solemnly defend, and observe
“ them. So that, in truth, if either Religion, Law,
“ or Liberty, be precious to our People, they will,
“ by their submission to Us, join with Us in the
“ defence of them; and thereby establish that
“ Peace, by which only they can flourish, and be
“ enjoyed.

“ Whether these Men, that be professed Enemies
“ to the established Ecclesiastical-Government, who
“ reproach and persecute the Learned Orthodox
“ Ministers of the Church, and into their places
“ put ignorant, seditious, and schismatical Preachers,
“ who vilify the Book of Common-Prayer, and
“ impiously prophane God's Worship with their
“ scurrilous and seditious demeanour, are like to
“ advance that Religion; whether those Men, who
“ boldly, and without the least shadow or color of
“ Law, impose insupportable Taxes and odious
“ Excises upon their fellow Subjects, imprison, tor-
“ ment, and murder them, are like to preserve the
“ Liberty and Property of the Subject: And whether
“ those Men, who seize and possess themselves of
“ our own unquestionable Revenue, and our just
“ Rights, have denied Us our Negative Voice,

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“ have, by force and violence, awed and terrified
“ the Members of both Houses, and lastly have,
“ as far as in Them lies, dissolved the present Par-
“ liament, by driving away and imprisoning the
“ Members, and resolving the whole power there-
“ of, and more, into a Committee of a few Men,
“ contrary to all Law, Custom, or Precedent, are
“ like to vindicate, and uphold the Privileges of
“ Parliament, all the world may judge.

“ We do therefore once more conjure our Good
“ Subjects, by their memory of that excellent Peace
“ and firm Happiness, with which it pleased God
“ to reward their Duty, and Loyalty in time past;
“ by their Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy,
“ which no Vow or Covenant, contrived, and
“ administered to, and by themselves, can cancel
“ or evade; by whatsoever is dear and precious to
“ them in this life, or hoped or prayed for in the
“ life to come, that they will remember their Duty,
“ and consider their Interest, and no longer suffer
“ Themselves to be misled, their Prince dishonored,
“ and their Country wasted and undone by the
“ malice and cunning of those State-Impostors;
“ who, under pretence of Reformation, would
“ introduce whatsoever is monstrous and unnatural
“ both to Religion, and Policy: But that they rather
“ chuse quietly to enjoy their Religion, Property,
“ and Liberty, founded and provided for by the
“ wisdom and industry of former times, and secured,
“ and enlarged by the blessings upon the present
“ Age, than to spend their Lives and Fortunes to
“ purchase confusion, and to make themselves liable

“ to the most intolerable kind of Slavery, that is, B O O K
 “ to be Slaves to their fellow Subjects; who, by VII,
 “ their prodigious, unheard of Acts of Oppression
 “ and Tyranny, have given them sufficient evidence
 “ What they are to expect at their hands.

“ And let not our good People, who have been
 “ misled, or, through want of Understanding, or
 “ want of Courage, submitted themselves to unwar-
 “ rantable and disloyal Actions, be taught, by these
 “ Seducers, that their Safety now consists in Despair;
 “ and that they can only secure themselves for the ills
 “ they have done, by a resolute and peremptory dis-
 “ obedience. Revenge and Blood-thirstiness have
 “ never been imputed to Us, by those, who have not
 “ left either our Government, or Nature, unexamined,
 “ with the greatest Boldness, and Malice. And all
 “ those who, since these bloody distractions, out of
 “ Conscience have returned from their evil ways to
 “ Us, have found that it was not so easy for Them to
 “ repent as for Us to forgive. And whosoever have
 “ been misled by those whose hearts from the begin-
 “ ning have designed all this mischief, and shall
 “ redeem their past crimes by their present Service
 “ and Loyalty, in the apprehending, or opposing
 “ such who shall continue to bear Arms against Us,
 “ and shall use their utmost endeavours to reduce
 “ those Men to their due Obedience, and to restore
 “ this Kingdom to its wonted Peace, shall have cause
 “ to magnify our Mercy, and to repent the Trespases
 “ committed against so just and gracious a Sovereign.
 “ Lastly; We desire all our good Subjects who have
 “ really assisted, or really wished Us well, now God

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“ hath done such wonderful things for Us, vigorously
 “ to endeavour to put an end to all these miseries, by
 “ bringing in Men, Money, Plate, Horses, or Arms, to
 “ Our aid; that so We being not wanting to ourselves,
 “ may with confidence expect the continuance of
 “ God’s Favor, to restore Us all to that blessed har-
 “ mony of Affections, which may establish a firm
 “ Peace; without the speedy obtaining of which, this
 “ poor Kingdom will be utterly undone, though not
 “ absolutely lost.

What effect this Declaration produced, at least what accident fell out shortly after the publishing it, We shall have occasion anon to remember, when We have first remembered some unfortunate Passages, which accompanied this prosperity on the King’s part; for the Sunshine of his Conquest was somewhat clouded, not only by the Number and Quality of the slain, but by the jealousies and misunderstandings of those who were alive. There was not, from the beginning, that conformity of humor and inclinations between the Princes and the Marquis of *Hertford*, as had been to be wished between all Persons of Honor, who were engaged in a Quarrel that could never prosper but by the Union of the Undertakers. Prince *Maurice*, and, on his behalf (or rather the other by his impulsion) Prince *Rupert* taking to heart, that a Nephew of the King’s should be Lieutenant General to the Marquis, who had neither been exercised in the profession of a Soldier, nor even now punctually studied the Office of a General: On the other hand, the Marquis, who was of the most gentle Nature to the gentle, and as rough and resolute to the imperious, it may be, liked

not the Prince's assuming to himself more than became a Lieutenant-General, and sometimes crossing Acts of his with relation to the governing, and disposing the Affairs of the Country, in which he knew himself better versed than the Prince; and when *Bristol* was taken, where the Marquis took himself to Command in Chief, being a Town particularly within his Commission, and of which he was besides Lord-Lieutenant, he thought himself not regardfully enough used, that Prince *Rupert* had not only entered into the Treaty without His advice, but concluded the Articles without so much as naming him, or taking notice that he was there. And therefore with as little ceremony to his Highness, or so much as communicating it to either of the Princes, the Marquis declared that he would give the Government of that City to Sir *Ralph Hopton*. Prince *Rupert* on the other hand conceived the Town won by him, being entered on that side in which he Commanded absolutely, and the *Cornish* on the other part absolutely repulsed; and therefore that the disposition of the Command and Government of it, wholly belonged to him. But when he heard the resolution of the Marquis concerning Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who was not to be put into the Scale with any private Man, he gave over the design of conferring it upon any of the pretenders; and by the same Messenger, by whom he advertised his Majesty of the good success, he desired, "that he would bestow the Government of that City reduced by him, upon himself;" the which the King readily consented to; not suspecting any dispute to be about it. And shortly after a

Jalousies
arise among
the King's
principal Officers
about the
Government
of *Bristol*.

B O O K express arrived likewise from the Marquis, with an
VII. account of all particulars, and that his Lordship had
design'd Sir *Ralph Hopton* to be Governor of the
new-got City.

Then, and not before, the King understood what
strait he was in; and was exceedingly perplexed
to find an Expedient to compose the difference that
he saw would arise. He had pass'd his word to his
Nephew, of whom he was very tender, and did in
truth believe that his Title to dispose the Government
was very just: he had likewise a very just esteem of
the Marquis, who had served him with all fidelity,
and had clearly declared himself for him, when the
doing otherwise would have been most prejudicial to
his Majesty: and, it could not be denied, no Sub-
ject's Affection and Loyalty gave a greater Lustre to
the King's Cause, than that of the Marquis; and that
which was a circumstance of infinite Moment, was
the nominating Sir *Ralph Hopton*; who as he was a
Person of high merit from the King, so he was the
most gracious and popular to that City, and the
Country adjacent; and after so great service, and
suffering in the service, to expose him to a refusal,
was both against the kindness and goodness of the
King's Nature, and his Politic foresight into his
Affairs. And as a presage how various the interpreta-
tion would be abroad, of whatsoever he should deter-
mine, he found the Minds and Affections of his own
Court and Council, with more passion than ordinary,
ready to deliver their opinions. The Marquis was
generally loved, and where he was not enough
known to be so, his Interest and Reputation in the
Kingdom

Kingdom was thought of wonderful consideration in the King's business: and many were very much troubled to see Prince *Rupert*, whose Activity and Courage in the Field they thought very instrumental, incline to get the possession of the second City of the Kingdom into his hands, or to engage himself so much in the Civil Government, as such a Command soberly executed must necessarily comprehend; and this as it were in contempt of one of the prime Noble-Men of the Kingdom, to which Order the Prince had not expressed himself very debonair. And these thought "the King was, by Counsel and Precept, to reform and soften the Prince's understanding and humor, and to persuade him, in compliance with his Service, to decline the Contest, and suffer the Marquis to proceed in his disposition, which, on all parts, was acknowledged to be most fitly designed."

Others again were of opinion, "that the right of disposing the Command to whomsoever he thought fit, entirely belonged to Prince *Rupert*; and therefore (besides that the King had, by the same Messenger who brought the Suit, returned his Consent) that he could not be reasonably refused, when he desired it for himself; which would take away all possible imagination of disrespect to Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who could not take it ill, that the Prince himself had taken a Command, that was designed to Him: That the Eyes of the Army were upon his Highness, whose name was grown a terror to the Enemy, as his Courage and Conduct had been very prosperous to the King; and if, after

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“ so happy and glorious an achievement, he should
 “ now receive a repulse in so reasonable a pretence,
 “ though it would not lessen his own duty or alacrity
 “ in the Service, it might have an unhappy influence
 “ upon his Reputation and Interest in the Army;
 “ which could receive no diminution without apparent
 “ damage to his Majesty: and therefore, that
 “ some means should be used to the Marquis, to wave
 “ his Title, and to consent that the Prince should
 “ enjoy his desires:” so that they who were only fit to
 be employed to persuade and alter either, Seemed, and
 indeed Were, passionately engaged against the thing
 they were to persuade. Whereupon the King discerned
 that all depended upon his own Royal Wisdom;
 and therefore resolved to take a Journey in his own
 Person to *Bristol*, and there to give such a Rule as he
 should find most necessary; to which, he presumed,
 both Persons would conform themselves, as well
 cordially, as obediently.

The King goes
 to Bristol to
 compose the
 difference.

That which the King proposed to himself, was to
 gratify his Nephew with the Name, and the Marquis,
 by making Sir *Ralph Hopton* enjoy the Thing; upon
 obliging whom the King's care was very particular.
 For though he knew his nature, as in truth it was,
 most exactly free from interrupting the least public
 Service by private ends or thoughts, other Men
 would be apt to conceive and publish a disrespect to
 be done to him, which himself apprehended not; and
 therefore his Majesty was not only, in his own Princely
 mind, to retain a very gracious sense of his Service,
 but to give Evidence to all Men, that he did so.
 And so after he had made a joyful entrance into

Bristol, which was performed with all decent Solemnity, and used all kind and obliging expressions to the Marquis, he desired him in private to consent, that he might perform his promise to his Nephew, which he had passed before he had any imagination that his Lordship otherwise had determined of it; without speaking at all of any other Title his Highness had to it, but by his Majesty's promise. He established Prince *Rupert* in the Government of *Bristol*, who immediately sent a Commission to Sir *Ralph Hopton* (who was now so well recovered, that he walked into the Air) to be his Lieutenant-Governor; signifying likewise to him, by a Confident that passed between them, "that
 " though he was now engaged for some time, which
 " should not be long, to keep the Superior Title
 " himself, he would not at all meddle in the Govern-
 " ment, but that he should be as absolute in it, as if the
 " Original-Commission had been granted to Him."

Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who was exceedingly sorry that His name was at all used, and exposed, as an Argument of difference and misunderstanding between Persons of such eminent influence upon the public, quickly discerned that this expedient, though it seemed plausibly to lessen the noise of the Debate, did in truth object him to the full Envy of one Party. For the Marquis (who by the King's persuasions was rather quieted, than satisfied) might, and he foresaw would, be persuaded to expect that He would refuse the Commission from Prince *Rupert*, both, as he might be thought to comply in an Injury done to the Marquis, to whom his devotion had been ancient, fast, and unshaken, and as the Command now given him, was

B O O K inferior to what the Marquis, who had the power of
VII. disposal, had conferred on him; and so that he should vindicate the Title, which the King himself was loath to give a judgment upon. He was the more troubled, because he found that by submitting to this Charge, he should by some be thought to have deserted the Marquis out of a kind of Revenge for his having deserted the Enterprize, when he chose, the last year, rather to go into *Wales* than *Cornwal*, and for his deserting him again now, when he brought all new Officers to Command the Army over Their Heads who had raised it, and made the way for the new to come to them. Whereas the first, as is before remembered, was done by his own Advice, as well as his full Consent; and the latter, he well knew, was rather to be imputed to Prince *Maurice* than to his Lordship, whose kindness and esteem had been ever very real to him. On the other hand, he saw plainly, that if he refused to receive this Commission, with what specious Circumstances of Duty and Submission soever, it might produce (as without doubt unavoidably it would) notable Disturbances and Interruptions in the King's Affairs; and that the Marquis, to common Understandings, had, to Obey the King, declined the Contest, and therefore that the reviving it, and the mischief that attended it, would be imputed to his particular Account. Besides that, he had always borne an avowed and declared Reverence to the Queen of *Bohemia* and her Children, whom he had Personally and actively served in their Wars, whilst they maintained any, and for whose Honor and Restitution he had been a Zealous and known Champion. And

therefore he had no inclination to disoblige a hopeful Prince of that House, upon whom our own hopes seemed so much to depend. He therefore resolved, according to his rare temper throughout this War, to let him whom he professed to serve, chuse in what kind he would be served by him; and cheerfully received the Commission from Prince *Rupert*; upon which, all discourse, or debate of difference, was for the present determined, what whisperings or murmurings soever remained.

The King found it now high time to resolve, to what Action next to dispose his Armies, and that their lying still so long there (for these Agitations had kept the main work from going forward ten or twelve days, a time in that Season unfortunately lost) had more weakened, than refreshed them; having not lost more Men by storming the City, than afterwards by plundering it: those Soldiers, who had warmed themselves with the burden of Pillage, never quietly again submitting to the Carriage of their Arms.

The Question was first, "whether both Armies should be united, and march in one upon the next Design? and then, What that Design should be? Against the First, there were many Allegations.

1. "The condition of the West: *Dorsetshire* and *Devonshire* were entirely possessed by the Enemy; for though Sir *John Berkeley* with a daring Party kept *Exeter*, and Colonel *John Digby* the North-part (which was notoriously disaffected) from joining with *Plymouth*, which would else quickly have grown into an Army strong enough to infest *Cornwal*, yet they had no place to retire to upon distress;

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" and all the Ports upon the Western Coasts were
" Garrisoned by the Parliament, which, upon the
" fame of the approach of the King's Forces, and the
" loss of *Bristol*, might probably be, without much
" resistance, reduced.

2. " The *Cornish* Army was greater in Reputation,
" than Numbers; having lost many at *Lansdown*, and
" the Assault of *Bristol*; and, by the death of their
" Chief Officers, very many were run away since:
" besides they pretended some promise made to their
" Country (which they conceived not to be enough
" secured against *Plymouth*) of returning speedily for
" the reduction of that Town; so that if they were
" compelled to march Eastwards, to which they were
" not inclined, it was to be doubted they would
" moulder away so fast, that there would be little
" addition of strength by it. Whereas if they marched
" Westward, it would be no hard matter to gather
" up those who were returned, and to be strong
" enough in a very short time, by new Levies, for
" any Enterprize should be thought reasonable to be
" undertaken." To which was added, " that having
" lost those Officers, whom they loved and feared;
" and whose Reverence restrained their Natural dis-
" tempers, they were too much inclined to mutiny;
" and had expressed a peremptory aversion to the
" joining, and marching with the King's Army." And
the truth is, their humors then were not very gentle
and agreeable, as being apt to think that their prowess
was not enough recompensed, or valued. For though
the King affected to make all possible demonstrations
to them, of an extraordinary high esteem he had of

their wonderful Fidelity and Courage, yet he was able to procure very little Money for them; and they had then, by the discipline under which they had been trained (which was most regular, and full of that sobriety which promised good fortune) an honest pride in their own Natures, a great disdain of plundering, or supplying themselves by those vile Arts, which they grew afterwards less tender to avoid.

3. "The great number of the King's Horse; which was so brave a Body, that when that part of it, which was joined to the *Cornish* was away, he should march with at least six thousand Horse, which were as many as would be able to live on any Country within a due distance of Quartering,

4. "Lastly some Correspondence with the Chief Gentlemen of *Dorsetshire*, who were ready to join with any considerable Party for the King, and had some probable hopes, that the small Garrisons upon the Coast would not make a tedious resistance."

There was another reason, which was not given, that if both Armies had been kneaded into one. Prince *Maurice* could have been but a private Colonel: but there were enough besides to satisfy the King to keep them divided; and so he gave Order to the Earl of *Carnarvon* to advance towards *Dorchester* (the Chief Town in that County, and one of the most Malignant in *England*, where the Rebels had a Garrison) with the Horse and Dragoons, and the next day to Prince *Maurice* to march after with the Foot and Cannon; his Majesty keeping with him the Marquis of *Hertford* to attend his own Person; for though he well saw, he should undergo some Inconveniences

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Prince Mau-
rice sent into
the West with
an Army.

BOOK by withdrawing the Marquis from that employment,
VII. the opinion of the Soundness of his Religion, and Integrity of his Justice, rendering him by much the most popular Man in those parts, and was exceedingly tender of giving the least umbrage and distaste to his Lordship, upon whose Honor and Affection he relied entirely, and would as soon have trusted his Crown upon His Fidelity, as upon any Man's in his three Kingdoms, yet he discerned plainly that the Prince and the Marquis would never agree together; and that there were Persons about them, who would foment their Indispositions to each other, with any hazard to His service; and concluded, that he should sooner reduce his People by the Power of his Army, than by the persuasions of his Counsel; and that the roughness of the one's Nature, might prevail more than the lenity and condescension of the other: and therefore he sent the Prince on that employment; using all imaginable means to remove any trouble, or jealousy of his favor from the Marquis's mind; his Majesty freely and clearly communicating to him all his Counsels, and the true ground of his Resolution; and declaring to him, "that he would make him a Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, and Groom of his Stole, and that he would always have his Company and Advice, about him;" with which the Marquis was satisfied, rather because he resolved not to disobey him, than that he was well pleased with the price of the obligations.

And truly many wise and honest Men, were sorry for the King's Election; and though the Marquis's years, and a long indulgence to his case, had super-

induced a kind of laziness and inactivity upon his Nature, that was neither agreeable to his primitive Constitution, nor the great Endowments of his mind (for he was a good Scholar, and had a good judgement) and less to the temper of this time, and the Office of a General, - inasmuch as he often resigned an excellent understanding to those who had a very indifferent one, and followed the advice, and concluded upon the information of those, who had narrower, and more vulgar thoughts than suited with his Honor, and were not worthy of such a Trust; yet they thought the Prince's Inexperience of the Customs and Manners of *England*, and an aversion from considering them, must subject him to the information and advice of worse Counsellors than the other, and which would not be so easily controuled: And I am of opinion, that if the Prince had waited on his Majesty in that Army, and never interposed in any Command, not purely Martial, and the Marquis been sent with those Forces into the West with the Lord *Hopton* (who was now to be left at *Bristol* to intend his health, and to form that new Garrison; which was to be a Magazine for Men, Arms, Ammunition, and all that was wanted) and some other steady Persons, who might have been Assigned to special Provinces, a greater tide of good fortune had attended that expedition.

The next resolution to be taken, was concerning the King's own motion with the other Army. There was not a Man, who did not think the reducing of *Glocester*, a City within little more than twenty miles of *Bristol*, of mighty importance to the King, if it

BOOK VII. might be done without a great expence of time , and
 loss of Men: " It was the only Garrison the Rebels
 " had between *Bristol* and *Lancashire*, on the North-
 " part of *England*, and if it could be recovered, his
 " Majesty would have the River of *Severn* entirely
 " within his Command: whereby his Garrisons of
 " *Worcester*, and *Shrewsbury*, and all those parts,
 " might be supplied from *Bristol*; and the Trade of
 " that City thereby so advanced, that the Customs
 " and Duty might bring a notable Revenue to the
 " King, and the Wealth of the City increasing, it
 " might bear the greater Burden for the War: A
 " rich and populous County, which hitherto rather
 " yielded Conveniences of Quarters, than a settled
 " Contribution (that strong Garrison holding not
 " only the whole Forest - division which is a fourth
 " part of the County of *Glocester*, absolutely in
 " obedience, but so alarmed all other parts, that none
 " of the Gentry, who for the most part were well
 " affected, durst stay at their own Houses) might be
 " wholly the King's Quarters, and by how much
 " it had offended, and disquieted the King, more
 " than other Counties, by so much the more Money
 " might be raised upon them." Besides the General
 weekly Contributions, the Yeomanry, who had
 been most forward and seditious, being very weal-
 thy, and able to redeem their Delinquency at a high
 Price (and these Arguments were fully pressed by the
 well affected Gentry of the County, who had carried
 themselves honestly and suffered very much by doing
 so, and undertook great Levies of Men, if this Work
 were first done) there was another Argument of ne

less, if not greater Moment than all the rest: "If
 " *Glocester* were reduced, there would need no Forces
 " to be left in *Wales*, and all those Soldiers might be
 " then drawn to the marching Army, and the Con-
 " tributions and other Taxes assigned to the pay-
 " ment of it." Indeed the King would have had a
 glorious, and entire part of his Kingdom, to have
 contended with the rest.

Yet all these motives were not thought worth the
 engaging his Army in a doubtful Siege; whilst the
 Parliament might both recover the fear that was
 upon them, and consequently allay and compose the
 distempers (which, if they did not wholly proceed
 from, were very much strengthened by those fears)
 and recruit their Army; and therefore that it was
 better to march into some of those Counties which
 were most oppressed by the Enemy, and there wait
 such advantage, as the distraction in and about
London would administer, except there could be
 some probable hope that *Glocester* might be got with-
 out much delay. And to that purpose there had been
 secret agitation, the effect whereof was hourly ex-
 pected. The Governor of that Garrison was one
 Colonel *Massy*, a Soldier of Fortune, who had, in
 the late Northern-Expeditions prepared by the King
 against *Scotland*, been an Officer in the King's Army;
 under the Command of Colonel *William Leg*; and in
 the beginning of these Troubles, had been at *York*
 with inclination to serve the King; but finding him-
 self not enough known there, and that there would be
 little gotten, but the Comfort of a good Conscience,
 went to *London*, where there was more Money, and

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fewer Officers; and was easily made Lieutenant Colonel to the Earl of *Stamford*; and being quickly found to be a diligent and stout Officer, and of no ill parts of Conversation to render himself acceptable among the Common-People, was by his Lordship, when he went into the West, left Governor of that City of *Glocester*, where he had behaved himself actively, and successfully. There was no reason to despair, that this Man (not intoxicated with any of those fumes which made Men rave, and frantic in the Cause) might not be wrought upon. And *Will. Leg.* who had the good opinion of most Men, and the particular kindness of Prince *Rupert*, had sent a Messenger, who was like to pass without suspicion to *Glocester*, with such a Letter of kindness and overture to *Massy*, as was proper in such a case from one Friend to another. This Messenger returned when the King's and the Army's motion was under Debate, and brought an Answer from the Governor to Colonel *Leg.* in a very high Style, and seeming to take it much unkindly, "that he should endeavour to Corrupt him
" in his Honesty, and Fidelity, and to persuade him
" to break a Trust, which, to save his Life, he would
" never do;" with much discourse " of his Honor,
" and Reputation, which would be always dear
" to him." But the Messenger said withal, " that,
" after the Governor had given him this Letter, and
" some sharp Reproaches before Company, he was
" brought again, a back-way, to a place where the
" Governor was by himself;" and then he told him,
" that it was most necessary he should write such an
" Answer as he had done; which was communicated

“ to those , who else would have been jealous what
 “ such a Messenger shou'd come to him about ; but
 “ that he should tell *William Leg*, that he was the same
 “ Man he had ever been , his Servant ; and that he
 “ wished the King well ; that he heard Prince *Rupert*
 “ meant to bring the Army before that Town ; if he
 “ did, he would defend it as well as he could ; and his
 “ Highness would find another work than he had at
 “ *Bristol*, but if the King himself came with his Army,
 “ and summoned it, he would not hold it against
 “ Him : For it would not stand with his conscience
 “ to fight against the Person of the King ; besides that
 “ in such a case, he should be able to persuade those
 “ of the Town ; which otherwise he could not do.”

This Message turned the Scale; for though it might be without purpose of being honest, yet there was no great objection against the King's marching that way with his Army ; since it would be still in his power to pursue any other Counsel , without engaging before it. And it was to some a sign that he meant well, because he had not hanged , or at least imprisoned the Messenger who came to him on such an Errand. Hereupon the King resolved for *Glocester* , but not to be engaged in a Siege; and so sent his Army that way; and the next day (having first sent Sir *Ralph Hopton* a Warrant to Create him Baron *Hopton* of *Stratton*, in Memory of the happy Battle fought there) with the remainder of his Forces marched towards it. On *Wednesday* the tenth of *August*, the King ranged his whole Army upon a fair Hill , in the clear View of the City , and within less than two miles of it; and then being about two of the Clock in the Afternoon, he sent a Trumpet with this Summons to the Town.

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The King
 marches to-
 wards Glo-
 ceſter , and
 Summons it.
 Aug. 10. 1643.

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“ Out of our tender Compassion to our City of
“ *Glocester*, and that it may not receive prejudice
“ by our Army, which We cannot prevent if We
“ be compelled to Assault it, We are Personally
“ come before it to require the same; and are gra-
“ ciously pleased to let all the Inhabitants of, and
“ all other Persons within that City, as well Sol-
“ diers as others, know, that if they shall immediate-
“ ly submit themselves, and deliver this Our City
“ to Us, We are contented, freely, and absolute-
“ ly to pardon every one of them, without ex-
“ ception; and do assure them, in the word of a
“ King, that they, nor any of them shall receive
“ the least damage or prejudice by Our Army in
“ their Persons or Estates; but that We will appoint
“ such a Governor, and a moderate Garrison to
“ reside there, as shall be both for the ease and
“ security of that City, and that whole County.
“ But if they shall neglect this proffer of Grace and
“ Favor, and compel Us, by the power of Our
“ Army, to reduce that place (which, by the help
“ of God, We doubt not, We shall be easily and
“ shortly able to do) they must thank Themselves
“ for all the Calamities and Miseries must befall
“ Them. To this Message We expect a clear and
“ positive Answer, within two hours after the pub-
“ lishing hereof; and by these presents do give leave
“ to any Persons, safely to repair to and return from
“ Us, whom that City shall desire to employ unto
“ Us in that business: And do require all the Officers,
“ and Soldiers of Our Army, quietly to suffer them
“ to pass accordingly.”

Within less than the time prescribed, together with the Trumpeter returned two Citizens from the Town, with lean, pale, sharp, and had Visages, indeed Faces so strange, and unusual, and in such a garb and posture, that at once made the most severe Countenances merry, and the most cheerful hearts sad; for it was impossible such Ambassadors could bring less than a Defiance. The Men, without any Circumstances of Duty, or good Manners, in a pert, shrill, undismayed accent, said, "they had brought an Answer from the Godly City of *Glocester* to the King;" and were so ready to give insolent and seditious Answers to any Question, as if their business were chiefly to provoke the King to violate his own Safe-Conduct. The Answer they brought was in writing, in these very words.

August 10th 1643.

" We the Inhabitants, Magistrates, Officers, and Soldiers, within this Garrison of *Glocester*, unto his Majesty's gracious Message return this humble Answer: That We do keep this City, according to our Oaths and Allegiance, to and for the use of his Majesty, and his Royal Posterity: And do accordingly conceive ourselves wholly bound to obey the Commands of his Majesty, signified by both Houses of Parliament: And are resolved, by God's help, to keep this City accordingly."

The Citizens
and Garrison's
Answer.

This Paper was subscribed by *Wise* the Mayor, and *Mossy* the Governor, with thirteen of the Aldermen, and most substantial Citizens, and eleven Officers of the Garrison; and as soon as their Messengers

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returned, who were quickly dismissed, without attending to see what the King resolved, all the Suburbs of the City, in which were very large and fair Buildings, well inhabited, were set on Fire; so that there was no doubt, the King was to expect nothing there but what could not be kept from him. Now was the time for new Debates, and new Resolutions; to which Men came not so unbiaſſed, or unfwayed, as they had been at *Bristol*. This indignity and affront to the King prompted thoughts of Revenge; and some thought the King so far engaged, that in Honor he could not do less, than sit down before the Town, and force it: and these Inclinations gave Countenance, and Credit to all those plausible informations “ of small Provisions in the
“ Town, either of Victual, or Ammunition; that,
“ where the Town was strongest, there was no-
“ thing but an old Stone - Wall, which would fall
“ upon an easy Battery; that there were many well
“ Affected People in the Town, who, with those
“ who were incensed by the burning of the Suburbs,
“ and the great losses they must sustain thereby,
“ would make such a Party, that as soon as they
“ were distressed, the seditious Party would be for-
“ ced to yield. It was alledged, that the Enemy
“ had no Army; nor, by all Intelligence, was like
“ to form any soon enough to be able to Relieve
“ it; and if they had an Army, that it was much
“ better for his Majesty to force them to that distance
“ from *London*, and to Fight there, where he could
“ be supplied with whatsoever he wanted, could
“ chuse his own ground, where his brave Body
“ of

“ of Horse would be able to Defeat any Army they
 “ could raise, than to seek them in their own
 “ Quarters.”

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Above all, the Confidence of the Soldiers of the best Experience moved his Majesty; who upon riding about the Town; and taking a near view of it, were clear of opinion, that they should be able in less than ten days by Approach, for all thoughts of Storming were laid aside upon the loss at *Bristol*, to win it. This produced a Resolution in his Majesty, not one Man in the Council of War dissuading it. So the King presently sent to *Oxford* for his General the Earl of *Brentford* “ to come to him, with
 “ all the Foot that could be spared out of that Garrison, and his pieces of Battery, to govern that
 “ Action:” Prince *Rupert* wisely declining that Province, and retiring himself into the Generalship of the Horse, that he might not be thought accountable for any Accidents which should attend that Service. At the same instant, Orders were despatched to Sir *William Vavasour*, who Commanded all the Forces in South-*Wales* (the Lord *Herbert* having been persuaded, so far to comply with the indisposition of that People, as to decline that Command, or at least for a time to dissemble it) “ to draw all
 “ his Men to the Forest-side of the Town;” where the Bridges being broken down, a small strength would keep them in, and any from going to them, which within two days was done. Thus the King was engaged before *Glocester*; and thereby gave respite to the distracted Spirits at *London*, to breathe, and compose themselves; and, more methodically

The King
 Besieges the
 Town.

BOOK VII. than they hoped to have done, to prepare for their preservation, and accomplishing their own ends; which at that time seemed almost desperate, and incurable.

The direful News of the Surrender of *Bristol*, which was brought to the two Houses on the 31st of *July*, struck them to the heart, and came upon them as a Sentence of Death, after a vast Consumption of Money, and Confident Promises of destroying all the King's Forces by a day, every Tax and Imposition being declared to be the last; and for finishing the work, the Earl of *Essex* was at the same time returned to *Kingston*, within ten Miles of them, with his broken and dismayed Troops, which himself would not endure should have the Title of an Army. So that the War seemed to be even at an end in a sense very contrary to what they had undertaken; their General talking more, and pressing for Reparation, and Vindication of his Honor from imputations, and aspersions, than for a Recruit of Forces, or providing an Army to defend them. Every Man reproached his Neighbour with his want of inclination to Peace, when good Conditions might be had, and magnified his own Wisdom, for having feared "it would come to This." The King's last Declaration had been read by all Men, and was magnified "as a most gracious and undeniable instance of his Clemency and Justice, that he was "so far from being elated with his good Successes, "and Power almost to have what he would, that "he renewed all those Promises, and Protestations "for the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the King.

dom, and Privileges of Parliament; which had
 " been out of their perverseness discredited before,
 " as proceeding from the low Condition he was
 " in; and whereas they had been frightened with their
 " representation of their own guilt, and the impla-
 " cableness of the King's Nature, as if he meant an
 " utter Conquest of them, his Majesty had now
 " offered all that could be honestly desired, and had
 " expressed himself a Prince not delighted with
 " Blood and Revenge, but an indulgent Father to
 " the most disobedient Children." In this Reforma-
 tion of Understanding, the Lords in their House
 Debated nothing but expedients for Peace: there
 were not of that Body above five, at the most, who
 had any inclination to continue the War; and the
 Earl of *Essex* had sufficiently declared, " that He
 " was weary of it," and held closest and strictest
 Correspondence with those who most passionately
 pressed an Accommodation. So that, on the fifth of
August, they desired a Conference with the Com-
 mons; and declared to them, " that they were re-
 " solved to send Propositions to the King, and they
 " hoped, They would concur in them:" the particu-
 lars proposed by them were,

1. " That both Armies might be presently dis-
 banded, and his Majesty be entreated to return
 " to his Parliament, upon such security as should
 " give him satisfaction.
2. " That Religion might be settled with the advice
 " of a Synod of Divines, in such a manner as his
 " Majesty, with the consent of both Houses of Par-
 liament, should appoint.

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Propositions
 for Peace
 given by the
 House of
 Lords to the
 House of
 Commons in
 a Conference

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3. " That the Militia, both by Sea and Land, might be settled by a Bill; and the Militia, Forts, and Ships of the Kingdom, put into such hands as the King should appoint, with the approbation of both Houses of Parliament: and his Majesty's Revenue to be absolutely, and wholly restored unto him; only deducting such part, as had been of necessity expended for the maintenance of his Children, and not otherwise.

4. " That all the Members of both Houses who had been expelled only for absenting themselves, or mere compliance with his Majesty, and no other matter of Fact against them, might be restored to their Places.

5. " That all Delinquents, from before the tenth day of *January* 1641, should be delivered up to the Justice of Parliament, and a General Pardon for all others on both sides."

6. And lastly, " that there might be an Act of Oblivion for all by-gone Deeds, and Acts of Hostility. "

When this Conference was reported in the House of Commons, it begot a wonderful long, and a hot Debate, which lasted till ten of the Clock that night, and continued a day or two more; the violent Party (for there were yet many among them of more moderate Constitutions, who did, and ever had heartily abhorred their proceedings, though out of fear, and indisposition of Health, or not knowing else well what to do, they continued there) inveighed furiously against the design itself of sending to the King at all, and therefore would not have the particular

Propositions so much as considered: " They had received much prejudice by the last Treaty at *Oxford*, and therefore must undergo more now, their condition was much lower: The King had since that, upon the matter, declared them to be no Parliament; for if they were not free, they could not be a Parliament; so that till that point were vindicated, they could not Treat in any safe Capacity, but would be looked upon under the notion of Rebels, as his Majesty had declared them. They had sent Members into *Scotland* to require Assistance, which that Kingdom was preparing with all Brotherly affection, and forwardness, and after such a discovery, to Treat for Peace, without the privity of the *Scots*, was to betray them; and to forfeit all hopes hereafter of relief from thence, what necessities soever they might be reduced to. That the City of *London* had expressed all imaginable readiness to raise Forces for Sir *William Waller*; and the Counties near *London* were ready to rise as one Man, whereby the Earl of *Essex* would be speedily enabled to march, with a better Army than ever he had, to give the King Battle, except this discourse of Peace did extinguish the Zeal that was then flaming in the hearts of the People. "

But notwithstanding these reasons, and the passion in the delivery, the terror of the King's Successes suggested Answers enough. " They had been punished for breaking off the Treaty of *Oxford*, when they might have had better terms than now, they could expect; and if they omitted this opportunity, they should fare much worse; that they were not sure

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“ of aid from *Scotland*, neither was it almost possible
 “ it should come time enough to preserve them from
 “ the Ruin at hand. And for the City of *London*,
 “ though the common and meaner sort of People,
 “ who might promise themselves advantage by it,
 “ desired the continuance of the distractions, yet it
 “ was evident the most Substantial and Rich Men
 “ desired Peace, by their refusal to supply Money
 “ for the carrying on the War; and if they should
 “ judge of the Common-People by their forwardness
 “ to engage their own Persons, they had reason to
 “ believe they had no mind to the War neither; for
 “ their General was forced to retire even under their
 “ own Walls, for want of Men to recruit his Army.
 “ However, the sending reasonable Propositions to
 “ the King, would either procure a Peace, and so
 “ they should have no more need of an Army; or,
 “ being refused, would raise more Men and Money
 “ than all their Ordinances without it.” These rea-
 sons and arguments prevailed; and after the Debate
 had lasted till ten of the Cloak at night, it was resolved
 upon the Question, and carried by nine-and-twenty
 Voices, “ that they should insist upon the Proposi-
 “ tions, and send to his Majesty.”

And without doubt, if they had then sent (as if the
 Power had been in the two Houses of Parliament,
 they had done) a firm Peace had immediately ensued;
 For besides that if a Treaty and Cessation had been in
 that Conjunction entered upon, no extravagant de-
 mand would have been pressed, only a security for
 those who had been faulty, which the King would
 gladly have Granted, and most Religiously observed;

the fourth Proposition, and Consent to restore all Members to their places in Parliament, would have prevented the kindling any more fire in those Houses. But this was too well known to be suffered to pass; and therefore the next day, being *Sunday*, the Seditious Preachers filled all the Pulpits with Alarms of "Ruin and Destruction to the City, if a Peace were now offered to the King;" and printed Papers were scattered through the Streets. and fixed upon Gates, Posts, and the most public places in the City and Suburbs, requiring "all Persons well affected, to rise as one Man, and to come to the House of Commons next morning; for that twenty thousand *Irish* Rebels were landed;" which information was likewise given that day in many Pulpits by their Preachers; and in other Papers likewise set up. it was declared, "that the Malignant Party had overvoted the Good, and if not prevented, there would be a Peace."

When the minds of the People were thus prepared, *Pennington*, their own Lord-Mayor, though on *Sunday* (on which they before complained the King used to sit in Council) called a Common-Council; where a Petition was framed to the House of Commons, taking notice "of Propositions passed by the House of Peers for Peace, which if consented to, and allowed, would be destructive to Religion, Laws, and Liberties; and therefore desired that House to pass an Ordinance, according to the Tenor of an Act of their Common-Council (which they appointed to be annexed to their Petition) "which was for the vigorous prosecuting the War, and decli-

A Petition of
the Common
Council of
London
against Peace

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"ning all thoughts of Accommodation." With this Petition, and such an Attendance as those preparatives were like to bring, the Lord-Mayor himself, who, from the time of his Mayoralty, had forborne sitting in the House as a Member, came to the House of Commons, and delivered it, with such farther Insinuations of the temper of the City, as were fit for the purpose; the People at the door behaving themselves as imperiously, telling the Members of both Houses, as they passed by them, "that if they had not a good Answer, they would be there the next day with double the Number." The Lords complained of the Tumults, and sent to the Commons to join with them in their Suppression; instead whereof the Commons (many of their Body withdrawing for fear, and others by fear converted, or it may be by hope of prevailing) gave the City thanks "for their Petition, Advice, and Courage;" and rejected the Propositions for Peace.

Whereupon
the House of
Commons
rejected the
Propositions
of the Lords.

This raised a new contest in the City, which was not willing to lie under the perpetual brand of resisting and opposing Peace, as they did of first raising the War. And therefore the Wise and Sober part of it, would gladly have discovered how averse they were from the late Act of the Common Council. But the late Execution of *Tomkins*, and *Chaloner*, and the advantage which was presently taken against any Man who was moderately inclined, frightened all Men from appearing in Person to desire those things upon which their hearts were most set. In the end, the Women expressed greater Courage than the Men; and having a Precedent of a Rabble of that Sex,

appearing in the beginning of these Distractions with a Petition to the House of Commons, to foment the Divisions; with acceptance and approbation, a great Multitude of the Wives of Substantial Citizens came to the House of Commons with a Petition for Peace. Thereupon a Troop of Horse, under the Command of one *Harvey*, a decayed Silk-man, who from the beginning had been one most Confided in, were sent for; who behaved themselves with such inhumanity, that they Charged among the silly Women, as an Enemy worthy of their Courage, and killed, and wounded many of them, and easily dispersed the rest. When they were by this means secured from farther vexation of this kind, special notice was taken of those Members who seemed most importunate, and desirous of Peace, that some advantage might be taken against them. Whereupon, they well discerning the danger they were in, many both of the Peers, and the Commons, first absented themselves from the Houses, and then removed into those Quarters where they might enjoy the Protection of the King; and some of them came directly to *Oxford*.

Having diverted this Torrent, which would have brought Peace upon them before they were aware, they considered their strength, and applied themselves to the recovery of the Spirits of their General; whose indisposition troubled them more, than any other distress they were in. To this cure they applied remedies of contrary Natures, which would yet work to the same end. First they caressed Sir *William Waller* with wonderful kindness and esteem; and as he was met upon his return to *London*, after the

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most total Defeat that could almost be imagined (for though few of his Horse were killed upon the place, they were so ruinously dispersed, that of above two thousand, there were not three hundred gotten together again for their Service) with all the Trained-bands and Militia of *London*, and received as if he had brought the King Prisoner with him, so he was immediately chosen Governor and Commander in Chief of the Forces and Militia of *London*, for the Defence of the City; and it was now declared, "that
 " they would forthwith supply him with a good
 " Body of Horse, and Foot, to take the Field again,
 " and relieve their distressed Friends in the West."

An Ordinance
 for raising an
 Army under
 the Earl of
 Manchester.

Then another Ordinance was passed to raise a great Army, under the Command of the Earl of *Manchester* (who had been always steady to his first Principles, and never a friend to any Overture of accommodation) in order to opposing the Earl of *New-Castle*, and to take charge of all the Associated Counties; which were *Essex*, *Hertford*, *Cambridge*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Huntington*, and (by a new addition) *Lincoln*; and for the speedy raising Men to join to those who would voluntarily list themselves under these two beloved Generals, there was an Ordinance passed both Houses for the Pressing of Men; which seemed somewhat to discredit their Cause, that, after so much pretence to the hearts of the People, they should be now compelled to Fight whether they would or no; and was the more wondered at, because they had themselves procured the King's Consent to an Act this Parliament, that declared it to be unlawful to press, or compel any of the freeborn

Subjects, to march out of the County in which they lived, if he were not willing so to do; and direction was given by other Ordinances to press great Numbers of Men, to serve both under the Earl of *Manchester*, and Sir *William Waller*; and having thus provided for the worst, and let the Earl of *Essex* discern, that they had another Earl to trust to, and more Generals than one at their Devotion, they sent a formal Committee of both Houses to him, to use all imaginable Art, and Application to him, to recover him to his former Vigor, and Zeal in their Cause. They told him "the high Value the Houses had of the
 " Service he had done, and the hazards, dangers,
 " and losses, he had for their sakes undergone: That
 " he should receive as ample a Vindication for the
 " Calumnies, and Aspersions raised on him, as he
 " could desire, from the full Testimony, and Con-
 " fidence of the two Houses; and if the infamous
 " Authors of them could be found, their punishment
 " should be as notorious as their Libels: That no
 " other Forces should be recruited till His were
 " made up; and that all his Soldiers Arrears should
 " be paid, and Clothes presently sent for his Foot."

Whether these Reasons, with the Jealousy of the Earl of *Manchester*, upon whom he plainly saw the Violent party wholly depended, or the infusions poured into him by the Lord *Say* and Mr. *Pym*, of the desperateness of his own Condition, with an opinion, upon the difference between the two Princes, and the Marquis of *Hertford*, that the Marquis's Services were not enough valued by the King (which many desired should be thought to have then some

B O O K influence upon the Earl) or whether he had not
VII. steadiness enough, to engage in so hazardous an
Enterprise, he grew insensibly altered from his moderate inclinations, and desire of Peace; for it is most certain, that as the confidence in him gave many Lords the Spirit to appear Champions for Peace, who had been before as solicitous against it, so the design was then the same, which hath been since prosecuted, with effect, to a worse purpose, that is, for the Members of both Houses who were of one mind, upon that signal Riot, and compelling the House of Common to renounce their former Resolution of Propositions to the King, to have gone to the Earl of *Essex*, and there, under the security of their own Army, to have protested against the violence which was offered, the breach of their Privileges by the Common-Council's taking notice of their Counsels, and overruling their Conclusions, and to have declared their want of Freedom: by means whereof, they made no doubt to have drawn the Houses to Consent to such an Agreement as the King would well have approved of; or to have entered upon such a Treaty themselves with the King, as all the moderate part of the Kingdom would have been glad to be comprehended under.

But this staggering in their General frustrated that design, and put them to other Resolutions; and so, having rendered themselves very ungracious in the Houses, and possibly suspecting the Earl of *Essex* might discover some of their Overtures, many of the Lords left the Town, and went either directly to *Oxford*, or into the King's Quarters; the Earl of

Portland, and the Lord *Lovelace* (of whose good Affections to his Service the King had always assurance, and who had only stayed there, as at a place where they might do him more Service, than any where else) directly to *Oxford*; and the Lord *Conway* shortly after them; the Earl of *Clare* into *Worcestershire*, and from thence, by the King's free acceptance, to *Oxford*; there being no other objection against his Lordship, than his staying so long at *London*; but his total differing with them in all their extravagances, he having no manner of relation to the Court, rendered him to his Majesty's opinion under a very good Character. The Earls of *Bedford*, and *Holland*, not without some difficulty, their purpose being discovered or suspected, got into the King's Garrison at *Wallingford*, from whence the Governor gave Advertisement of their Arrival; the Earl of *Northumberland*, with the leave of the House, retired for his health to his House at *Petworth* in *Sussex*; which, though it was in a County entirely then at the Parliament's devotion, yet it was near enough to be infested from some of the King's Quarters, if he had not some assurance of being safe there.

The Violent Party carried now all before them; and were well contented with the absence of those who used to give them some trouble, and vexation. For the better strengthening themselves with the People, they Ordered the Divines of the Assembly, to repair into the Country to their Cures, especially in the Counties of the Association under the Earl of *Manchester*, to stir up the People, with all their Eloquence, to Rise as one Man against their Sove-

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The Earls of
Bedford, and
Holland, put
themselves
into the
King's
Quarters, as
likewise some
other of the
Parliament
Lords.

B O O K reign; and omitted nothing within their power,
VII. which might contribute to the raising Men or Mo-
ney; being not a little joyed, when they understood
the King had given them more time than they expect-
ed, to Compose all Disorders and Divisions among
themselves, by his staying with his Army before
Glocester; which they took to be the greater Blessing,
and Preservation to them, because at the same time
there were sudden Insurrections in *Kent* against their
Ordinances and Jurisdiction, in Defence of the
known Laws, and especially of the Book of Com-
mon-Prayer; which, if the King's Army had been
at any distance to have countenanced, they would
never have been able to suppress.

The fame of all these Distractions and Disorders at
London, exceedingly disposed Men in all places to
reproach his Majesty's stay before *Glocester*; his
Friends at *London* desiring that his Majesty should
march directly thither, to take the advantage of
those Distractions; and the Lords of the Council at
Oxford, upon the intelligence and advice from
thence, were very solicitous that the King would
take that resolution, to which he was himself enough
inclined. But his Condition was believed to be, in
both places, better than it was; and that he had
now a Victorious Army, without an Enemy to res-
train his motion; whereas, in truth, his was a weak
Army, lessened exceedingly by the losses it sustained
before *Bristol*; and when that part of it was marched
with Prince *Maurice* into the West, and which could
not have marched any other way, the King had not
much above six thousand Foot to march with, though

he left none at *Bristol*, but obliged my Lord *Hopton* to Garrison it as he could, which he shortly did; and that would have appeared a very small Army to have marched towards *London*; though it is true the Horse was a noble Body, and Superior in number to that of the Foot.

There was likewise another circumstance, that few Men were then acquainted with: Upon the first News of the taking of *Bristol*, his Majesty, before he left *Oxford*, had sent an Express to the Earl of *New-Castle*, who was then engaged before *Hull*, "that if he found the business of *Hull* to be more
" difficult than he expected, he should leave it blocked up at a distance, which might restrain Excursions into the Country, and march with his Army
" into the Associated-Counties; which comprehended *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, and *Essex*, &c. which had Associated themselves, by some Agreement, to serve the Parliament; though the better part of all those Counties, especially of the two greater, were most affected to the King, and wished for an opportunity to express it; and if the Earl would bring his Army through those Counties towards *London*, his Majesty would then resolve, with his own, to march towards it on the other side. And in the very time that his Majesty came before *Glocester*, and before he took the Resolution to sit down before it, that Express returned from the Earl of *New-Castle*, who informed him, "that it was impossible for him to comply with his Commands, in
" marching with his Army into the Associated-Counties, for that the Gentlemen of the Country, who

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" had the best Regiments, and were among the best Officers, utterly refused to march, except *Hull* were first taken; and that he had not strength enough to march and to leave *Hull* securely blocked up:" which Advertisement, with the consideration before mentioned, of the enlarging his Quarters by the taking of *Glocester*, and the Concurrence of all the Officers, that it would speedily be taken, produced that Resolution of Attempting it, notwithstanding that the Queen herself writ so importunately against it, that his Majesty thought it necessary to make a Journey himself to *Oxford*, to convince her Majesty, and to Compose some distempers which were risen among his Council there, upon the News of the Arrival of some of the Lords mentioned before in those Quarters.

Debates in the Council at Oxford how those Lords should be received.

The King was newly set down before *Glocester*, when the Governor of *Wallingford* sent notice to *Oxford*, of the Arrival of those two Earls; to whom the Lords of the Council returned direction, " that they should stay there, till the King's pleasure was understood;" to whom the Secretary had sent the information, and desired his Majesty's will concerning their reception. The King well knew, any Order he should give in it, would be liable to many objections, and he had not so good an inclination to either of them, as to run any inconvenience for their sakes; the Earl of *Bedford* having served in Person against him, as the General of the Rebels Horse; and the Earl of *Holland*, in the King's opinion, having done worse. And therefore his Majesty Commanded, " that this Privy-Council should Debate the matter
" among

“ among themselves, and present their opinion and
“ advice to him, and he would then determine what
“ kind of Entertainment they should have.” The
opinions at the board were several; some thought,
“ that his Majesty should receive them very gra-
“ ciously, and with all outward expressions of his
“ acceptance of their return to his Service, and that
“ the demeanour of all others to them should be such
“ as might make them think themselves very wel-
“ come, without the least taking notice of any thing
“ formerly done amiss by them; which would be a
“ great encouragement to others to come away too:
“ So that the Numbers, and Quality of those who
“ stayed behind, would probably in a short time be
“ so small, that they would have no reputation in
“ the Kingdom to continue the War.” Many differed
diametrically from this; and were so far from think-
ing this advice agreeable to the dignity, or security
of the King, that they thought it not fit “ to admit
“ them presently to the King’s or Queen’s presence,
“ till by their good carriage and demeanour, they
“ should give some testimony of their Affections:
“ They had both taken the late Covenant, of which
“ one Clause was, to assist the Forces raised by the
“ Parliament, against the Army raised by the King;
“ with many reproaches, and known scandals upon
“ that Army. If they had felt a true remorse of Con-
“ science for the ill they had done, they would have
“ left that Party, when that Covenant was to be
“ imposed upon them; which, since they did not,
“ that they came now was to be imputed rather to
“ the King’s success, and the weakness of that
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“ power which they had hitherto served, than to any
 “ reformation of their understanding, or improve-
 “ ment of their Allegiance: and that it was great
 “ reason, that they who had given such Arguments
 “ of just jealousy and suspicion of themselves, should
 “ raise a confidence in their Loyalty and Affection
 “ by some Act equal to the other; and therefore
 “ none who had taken that Covenant, should be
 “ admitted to the presence of the King, Queen, or
 “ Prince, before he had taken some other Oath or
 “ Covenant, declaring an equal hatred, and abhor-
 “ ring of the Rebellious Arms which were taken up
 “ against his Majesty, and the Counsels by which
 “ they were taken up.”

It was said, “ that the good, or ill reception of
 “ these Lords, could have no influence upon the
 “ Actions, or Deliberations at *Westminster*, or *London*;
 “ or any considerable Persons there: that they were
 “ but single Men, without any considerable depend-
 “ ance upon them: Whilst they had Reputation,
 “ and Interest enough to do good or hurt, and the
 “ King’s condition needed their attendance, they
 “ chose to be engaged against him; but Now, when
 “ they were able to do him no more harm, they came
 “ to receive benefit and advantage from him: That
 “ it was a common Argument Men used to alledge
 “ to themselves for their compliance with, and sub-
 “ mission to, the Commands of the Parliament; that,
 “ if they did otherwise, their severity, and rigor was
 “ so great, that They and their Families were sure to
 “ be ruined; but, if the King prevailed, He was
 “ gracious and merciful, and would remit their Of-

" fences whensoever they cast themselves at his feet ; B O O K
 " which presumption if they should see confirmed in VII.
 " this example , it would make the observation of
 " Conscience and Loyalty of no price ; and encourage
 " those who were risen against him , and exceedingly
 " dishearten those who had been honest and faithful
 " from the beginning : That there could ensue no
 " inconvenience from any reservedness and coldness
 " towards them ; for they durst not return to *London* ,
 " having now made themselves odious to that Party ,
 " and having no hope but from the acceptance of
 " his Majesty ; which they should merit before they
 " found ." There was a third opinion between these
 extremes , " that they should be neither Courted nor
 " Neglected , but be admitted to kiss the King's and
 " Queen's hands , and to dispose themselves as they
 " thought fit ; and so to leave the rest to their future
 " demeanour : " and to resolve which of these
 opinions to follow , was another motive for his Ma-
 jesty's sudden Journey to *Oxford* .

The King found greater alterations in the minds
 and spirits at *Oxford* , than he expected after so much
 success as had befallen him ; and that success was it ,
 that had made the alterations ; it being the unlucky
 temper of that place , and that Company , to be the
 soonest and the most desperately cast down upon any
 misfortune or loss , and to be again , upon any Victory ,
 the most elated , and the most apt to undervalue any
 difficulties which remained . The taking *Bristol* had
 so possessed them with joy , that they thought the
 War even at an end , and that there was nothing left
 to be done , but to take possession of *London* ; which

The King
 comes to
 Oxford to
 consult about
 it.

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they were assured would be delivered to them upon demand: many Members of both Houses were come to *Oxford*, which assured them, "the violent People there, were even in despair; and after the News came of the Surrender of *Bristol*, that they had only kept up their spirits in hopes that the King would engage his Army in the Siege of *Glocester*, which some of them had seemed to promise their Friends would be the Case:" from whence they would infer, that the King was betrayed, and that they who had persuaded him to undertake that design, were corrupted by the Parliament." And the Envy and Jealousy of all this fell upon Sir *John Colepepper*, who was indeed of the opinion for the Siege, but, without doubt, how much soever he suffered at that time, and afterwards, under that reproach, he believed there was very good reason for that Engagement, and was most free from any corrupt end, and of most sincere fidelity.

This discourse and imagination had made wonderful impression upon the Queen, who was inflamed with a jealousy that there was a design to lessen her Interest in the King, and that Prince *Rupert* was Chief in that Conspiracy, and meant to bring it to pass by keeping the King still in the Army, and by hindering his coming to *Oxford*: and out of this apprehension the Queen had written so warmly and concernedly to the King, who was the most incapable of any such apprehensions, and had her Majesty in so perfect an adoration, that as soon as he received that Letter, without delay he came to *Oxford*, and quickly composed those mistakes; though the being

engaged before *Glocester* was still very grievous, and reproaches were publicly cast upon those who gave the advice. BOOK VII.

But that which took up most of the time of that one day that the King stayed at *Oxford*, was concerning the two Lords who were retained at *Wallingford*; which had been agitated in the Council with great passion before the King's coming. The King caused the Council to meet the next morning, and asked their advice, "whether the Earls of *Bedford*, and " of *Holland*, should be admitted to come into " *Oxford*, or obliged to return from whence they " came? or, if admitted, how they should be received, or countenanced by their Majesties?" And it cannot be enough wondered at, that there should be any difference of opinion in that matter; but it cannot, be expressed, with how much earnestness and unreasonableness the whole was debated, and how warmly even they, who in all other debates still expressed all moderation and temper, did now oppose the receiving these Lords with any grace, with more passion, and other reasons, than had been offered in their former Conferences; so that there was scarce known such an union in opinion at that board, in any thing, where disunion was very inconvenient.

All exaggerated " the Carriage and foul Ingratitude of the Earl of *Holland*, from the beginning " of the Parliament; and the Earl of *Bedford*'s being " General of the Horse in the Earl of *Essex*'s Army; " and now when the Parliament was low, and They " had lost their credit and interest There, they were " come to the King, whom they had so much

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“offended; and expected to be as much, it may be,
 “more made of, than they who had borne the heat
 “of the day; which would so much reflect upon the
 “King’s Honor, that Men would be exceedingly
 “discouraged to serve him.’ Some moved, “that
 “they might be detained, and kept Prisoners of War,
 “since they came into the King’s Quarters without
 “any Pass;” others, as plainly, and more vehemently
 pressed, “that they might not be suffered to come to
 “*Oxford*, or where the King or Queen should be;
 “but permitted to live in some other place within
 “the King’s Quarters, until they should manifest
 “their Affections by some Service. They who
 “thought this too severe and unpolitic, proposed
 “that they might be suffered to come to *Oxford*, that
 “thereby they might be kept from returning to the
 “Parliament” (which appeared to most to be liable
 to many exceptions) “but that being at *Oxford*, they
 “should not come to Court; and that no Privy-
 “Counsellor should visit them.”

In this whole Debate, the Chancellor of the Ex-
 chequer, who seldom spoke without some earnest-
 ness, was the only Man (except another, who brought
 no credit to the opinion, the Lord *Savile*) who advised
 confidently, “that they might be very graciously re-
 “ceived by both their Majesties, and civilly be visited
 “and treated by every Body; that other Men might,
 “by the entertainment they received, be encouraged
 “to desert the Parliament too.” He said, “it would be
 “too great a disadvantage to the King, and to his Cause,
 “that whilst the Parliament used all the industry and
 “artifices, to corrupt the Duty and Affection of the

“ Subject, and had their Arms open to receive and
 “ embrace all, who would come to them. his Majesty
 “ should admit none to return to him, who had been
 “ faulty, or not come so soon as they ought to have
 “ done ; that if the King had a mind to gratify , and
 “ oblige the Parliament, he could not do it more to
 “ their hearts desire, than by rejecting the application
 “ of these Lords, or suffering it to pass unregarded.”
 There was one Argument against their admission
 urged very loudly, “ that it would disturb the Peace
 “ of the place ;” the Earl of *Bedford* had Commanded
 that part of the Army, which infested the Marquis of
Hertford , at his being at *Sherborne* ; when the Mar-
 quis had sent *Harry Seymour*, as is mentioned before,
 with a Challenge to the Earl to fight with him; which
 the Earl reasonably declined at that time; and said,
 “ he would be ready, when the business of the Par-
 “ liament should be over , to wait upon the Mar-
 “ quis when he should require it.” And some Men,
 who were near enough to the Marquis’s Counsels,
 undertook to know, that if the Earl of *Bedford*
 should be in *Oxford*, the Marquis, who was every day
 expected, would exact the performance of his pro-
 mise; which sure he was too wise to do.

The King, during the whole Debate, did not ex-
 press any thing of his own sense, save that he seemed
 well pleased with any sharpness that was expressed to-
 wards the Earl of *Holland*. He said, “ that he was
 “ bound to his good behaviour, by being under the
 “ common reproach of inclining too much to those
 “ who had used him worst; of which he would not be
 “ guilty :” However, he did not think, at this time,

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that it would be good to make any Persons desperate; and therefore gave order, "that the Governor of *Wallingford* should permit them to continue their Journey to *Oxford*; where all Men might use what civilities they pleased to them; and that Himself, and the Queen would do that towards them, which upon their application and address, they should think fit:" and though this determination was given, without the least discovery of grace towards the Persons of those Lords, and not without some reflections of prejudice towards them, it was not grateful to the Table; which was evident enough by their Countenance. The next morning, the King returned to the Army.

There had been, as is said, very great divisions in the Counsels at *Westminster*, from the time of the Treaty, and the very abrupt breaking it off; and the Earl of *Northumberland*, resenting the Affront done to him by *Martin*, had increased those divisions; and the ill successes afterwards in the Defeat of *Waller*, and the taking of *Bristol*, had given every Man Courage to say what he would. And then the proceeding upon Mr *Waller's* discovery, and obliging all Men to take a desperate Engagement, which they durst not refuse, for fear of being declared guilty of the Plot, as many of them were, incensed very many: But above all, the prosperity of the King's Affairs made every Body wish to come into his Quarters. A great Number of the House of Commons, who were known always to wish well, came to *Oxford*; and of the Peers, the Earl of *Portland*, who was always very faithful to the King, and had stayed in the House of Peers by

his Majesty's leave, and had been accused by Mr. *Waller* to be privy to that design, upon which he had endured a long imprisonment, came at this time to *Oxford*. as is said before, together with the Lord *Conway*, and the Lord *Lovelace*; the former of which had been likewise questioned, and imprisoned, and the latter had been as knowing of the matter, and of constant duty to the King; and all three had gotten liberty, and opportunity to come away by swallowing that Vow, and Oath, which could only set them free, and which they made haste to Answer for to the King. The Return of the Earl of *Essex* to *London* in ill humor, had given opportunity to the Earl of *Holland*, and the rest, who were weary of the work in hand, to inflame him to resentment of the neglects which had been put upon him, and the jealousies which were entertained of him. The Earl of *Bedford* had given up his Commission of General of the Horse, and quitted the Service, and never had any Affection to their ways in his Judgment. The Earl of *Clare* had been with the King at *York*, and had his leave to return to *London*, to intend his own particular Affairs; and, during his stay, had never concurred in any malicious Counsel against the King, but was looked upon as a Man, not only firm to the Principles of Monarchy, but of Duty to the Person of the King. He was a Man of Honor, and of Courage, and would have been an excellent Person, if his heart had not been set too much upon the keeping, and improving his Estate; he was weary of the Company he kept, and easily hearkened to the Earl of *Holland*, in any consultation how to recover the King's Authority;

BOOK VII. and to put an end to the War. The Earl of *Essex* was, as is said before, enough provoked, and incensed, and willingly heard all the Lords, and others, who inveighed against the violent Proceedings of those who swayed the Parliament, and differed not with them in his judgment of the Men, and the Matter: so that they believed that he would as readily be disposed to agree upon the Remedy, as he did upon the Disease.

Their end and design was, as I said, if they could draw him to a concurrence, that They, and all the rest of those who were accounted moderate Men, that is who desired a Peace, and to return to their duty to the King (which were much the Major part of both Houses that remained at *Westminster*, after so many of both were gone to the King) might all go to the Army; and thereupon the General, and They, to write to the Parliament together, and to send such Propositions to them, as the Parliament should transmit to the King, as the conditions of Peace. If the King should refuse to consent to them, it would be an infallible way to unite all People to compel him to it: but if the Parliament would refuse to transmit those Propositions to the King, or to consent to a Peace upon those conditions, they would then declare against them, for not adhering to the grounds upon which the War was first begun, and would join themselves to the King to force them to it. If this had been done in that conjuncture, when the authority and credit of the Earl of *Essex* was not yet eclipsed, and before an Independant Army was raised, which was shortly after done, it could not probably have failed of the success desired. But the

Earl was too scrupulous and too punctual to that which he called a Trust; and this was too barefaced a separation for him to engage in: Besides that he did believe, that he should be able to suppress that violent Party by the Parliament itself, and he thought that would bring all about which he desired; and so he did not only reject what was proposed to him, but expressed such a dislike of the Earl of *Holland* for proposing it, that he thought it high time to get himself out of his reach. The Earl of *Holland*, who always considered Himself in the first place, had, from the time of the Queen's landing, privately made offer of his Service to the Queen, and renewed his old confidence and friendship with Mr. *Jermyn*; and knowing well to enhance the value of his own Service, made great promises of notable Service; and Mr. *Jermyn* easily persuaded her Majesty, "that it was
 " much better for her to restore an old Servant,
 " whom she knew so well to her confidence (though
 " he had stepped out of the way) than to rely upon
 " the fidelity of any of those, who were now about
 " the King, and who were all upon the matter strangers to her, at least not enough known by her," and then, "that by laying hold upon this opportunity,
 " she would, at her first coming to the King, carry
 " his Restoration with her, possess herself of the
 " whole frame of his business, because all other
 " designs would be laid aside; and so all the good,
 " that would redound to the King and Kingdom
 " from this new Negotiation, must, by the consent
 " of all the world, be attributed to her Majesty's
 " Wisdom and Conduct." This appearing hopeful to

B O O K her Majesty, and all that had any thing of Hope was
VII. by the other always looked upon as Certain, the correspondence was embraced; and the Earl assured not only to be restored to his former Station in all respects, but to a Title to new Interests. And upon this encouragement and obligation, when he found he could not prevail with the Earl of *Essex*, that the King's Affairs prospered, and that *Bristol* was now taken, and the Queen come to *Oxford*, he resolved Himself to go thither, and prevailed with the Earls of *Bedford*, and *Clare*, to do the like; he assuring them, that they should be very well received. The Earl of *Clare* made his Journey by himself, out of the common Road, and came without any interruption into *Oxford*, at the time appointed: the Earls of *Bedford*, and *Holland*, came together to *Wallingford*, as is mentioned. The Earl of *Northumberland*, who was naturally suspicious, went to his own House at *Petworth* in *Sussex*: by which he thought he showed aversion enough to the Counsels at *Westminster*, and would keep it in his own power to return, if he found that the reception of the other Lords at *Oxford* was not answerable to their expectation; besides that he would expect the result of the Lord *Conway*'s Negotiation, who was more trusted by him than any other.

The leave for the two Earls to come from *Wallingford* to *Oxford*, was declared but the night before the King returned to the Army; and was not sent thither till the next day. So that the Lords came not to *Oxford* till two days after, much mortified with the time they had been forced to spend at *Wallingford*, and with the disputation, they heard, had been held

concerning them ; of which they had received so particular information, that the Earl of *Holland* writ a very civil Letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer before he came to *Oxford*, taking notice of "the Affection he had showed to him in his advice to the King." Both of them had Friends enough there to provide for their accommodation in convenient Lodgings, so that the one had a Lodging at *Magdalen-College* in *Oxford*, of which House he had formerly been Member ; the other lay in *Baliol-College*, where he had a Daughter, who spared him part of her Lodgings. But for any application to them by the Lords, or Persons in Authority there, they had no reason to think themselves very welcome. They went, in the first place, to do their Duties to the Queen ; who received them coldly enough, not out of disinclination, or unwillingness to show them any countenance, but pure compliance with the ill humor of the Town, which she detested : nor did Mr. *Jermyn*, who still valued himself upon the impossible faculty to please All, and displease None, think fit to deal clearly with them in that point (having, probably, said more in his Letters of correspondence and advice, than he had Authority to do ; it being his custom to write, and speak, what was most grateful to the Persons) so that the Earl of *Holland*, with whom alone the correspondence had been, began to think himself betrayed, and invited to *Oxford* only to be exposed to contempt. He came one morning to visit the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when there were the Lord *Cottington*, and two or three other Privy-Counsellors with him, who all went presently

B O O K away, without so much as saluting him; which
VII. offended the Chancellor as much as it did Him, and
 in truth obliged the Chancellor to more ceremony
 and civility, than, it may be, he would otherwise
 have practised: so that he did visit him again, and
 made all professions and offers of kindness and service
 to him; which he did very heartily; and complied
 therein, not only with his own inclinations, but with
 his judgment, as very important to the King's Ser-
 vice; and did all he could to induce others to be of
 the same opinion; in which he had no great success.

The Intelligence from *London* brought, every day,
 the Resolution of the Parliament, "to relieve *Glo-*
cester; and that, if their Levies did not supply them
 with Men soon enough, the Trained-bands of the City
 would march out with the General for that Service:
 whereupon the three Earls, *Bedford*, *Holland*, and
Clare, after some days stay in *Oxford*, thought it
 necessary to offer their Service to the King in the
 Army, and to bear their part in any danger that might
 happen by an engagement between the Armies, and
 so went together to *Glocester*; where the King receiv-
 ed them without any disrespect, and spoke with them
 as they gave him occasion.

The King's
 Affairs in the
 West.

Whilst the King continued before *Glocester*, his
 Forces in the West moved with a full gale and tide of
 success. The Earl of *Carnarvon* marched with the
 Horse and Dragoons, being near two thousand, into
Dorsetshire, two days before Prince *Maurice* moved
 with his Foot and Cannon from *Bristol*, and had
 made a fair entrance upon the reduction of that whole
 Country, before his Highness overtook him; and it

was thought then, that if the Prince had marched more slowly, the Earl had perfected that work. Upon the Surrender of *Bristol*, many of the Gentlemen, and others of that County, who were engaged in that City for the Parliament, had visited their Houses, and Friends, in their Journey to *London*; whither by their safe-conduct they went, and had made such prodigious discourses of the fierceness and courage of the Cavaliers (as most Men who run away, or are beaten, extol the power of the Enemy which had been too hard for them) that resisting them begun to bethought a matter impossible. One Mr. *Srode*, a Man much relied on in those parts and of a good Fortune, after he had visited his House, took *Dorchester* in his way to *London*, and being desired by the Magistrates, "to view their Works and Fortifications, and to give his Judgment of them;" after he had walked about them, he told them, "that those Works might keep out the Cavaliers about half an hour;" and then told them strange stories of the manner of Assaulting *Bristol*; "and that the King's Soldiers made nothing of running up Walls twenty foot high, and that no Works could keep them out;" which he said not out of any purpose to betray them (for no Man wished the King's Army worse success) but had really so much horror, and consternation about him, and the dreadful Image of the Storm of *Bristol* imprinted in his mind, that he did truly believe, they had scaled all those Forts and Places which were delivered to them; and he propagated this fear and trepidation so fruitfully where he came, that the Earl of *Carnarvon* came no sooner near *Dorchester* with his

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Dorchester
Surrendered.

Horse and Dragoons (which, it may be, was understood to be the Van of the Victorious Army which had taken *Bristol*) but the Town sent Commissioners to him to Treat; and upon Articles of Indemnity, that they should not be plundered, and not suffer for the ill they had done, delivered up the Town (which was strongly Situated, and might very well have been Defended by the spirits of these People, if they had Courage equal to their Malice; for a place more entirely disaffected to the King, *England* had not) with all their Arms, Ammunition, and Ordnance. The same of the Earl's coming had before frightened Sir *Walter Earl*, who had for a long time Besieged *Corfe-Castle* (the House of the Lord-Chief-Justice *Banks*, defended by his Lady with her Servants, and some few Gentlemen, and Tenants, who betook themselves thither for Her assistance, and their own security) from that Siege; and he making more haste to convey himself to *London*, than Generals use to do; who have the care and charge of others, his Forces were presently dispersed. And now the Surrender of *Dorchester* (the Magazine from whence the other places were supplied with principles of Rebellion) infused the same spirit into *Weymouth*, a very convenient Harbour and Haven: and that example again prevailed on the Island and Castle of *Portland* (a place not enough understood; but of wonderful importance) to all which the Earl granted fair conditions, and received them into his Majesty's Protection.

Weymouth
and Portland
Surrendered
to the King's
Forces.

Hither Prince *Maurice* came now up with Foot and Cannon; and neglecting to follow the Train of the Enemies fears to *Lyme*, and *Poole*, the only two Gar-
risons .

rifons then left in their poffeffion, ftayed with his Army about *Dorcheſter* and *Weymouth* ſome days, under the Notion of ſettling and diſpoſing the Government of thoſe Garrifons. Here the Soldiers, taking advantage of the famous Malignity of thoſe places, uſed great licence; neither was there care taken to obſerve thoſe Articles which had been made upon the Surrender of the Towns; which the Earl of *Carnarvon*, who was full of Honor and Juſtice upon all Contracts, took ſo ill, that he quitted the Command he had with thoſe Forces, and returned to the King before *Gloceſter*; which publiſhed the injuſtice with more ſcandal, Whether this licence, which was much ſpoken of, and, no doubt, given out to be greater than it was, aliened the Affections of thoſe parts, or whether the abſence of the Marquis of *Hertford* from the Army, which was not till then taken notice of, begot an apprehenſion that there would not be much Lenity uſed towards thoſe who had been high, and pertinacious Offenders, or whether this Army, when it was together, ſeemed leſs formidable than it was before conceived to be, or that the terror which had poſſeſſed and ſeized upon their Spirits, was ſo violent that it could not continue, and ſo Men grew leſs amazed, I know not; but thoſe two ſmall Towns, whereof *Lyme* was believed inconfiderable, returned ſo peremptory a refusal to the Prince's Summons, that his Highneſs reſolved not to Attack them; and ſo marched to *Exeter*, where he found all things in better order, and that City more diſtreſſed, than he had reaſon to expect, by the diligence and dexterity of Sir *John Berkeley*, who being ſent from *Wells* by the

Prince Maurice comes to Exeter with his Army.

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Marquis of *Hertford*, as is before remembered, to govern the Affairs of *Devonshire*, with one Regiment of Horse, and another of new Levied and half-armed Foot, had so increased his Numbers by the concurrence of the Gentlemen of that County, that he fixed strong Quarters within less than a Mile of the City, and kept his Guards even to the Gates; when the Earl of *Stamford* was within, with a strength, at least equal in number to the Besiegers.

The Parliament commanded the Relief of this place, by special instructions, to their Admiral the Earl of *Warwick*; after whose having made show of Landing Men in several places upon the Coast, and thereby compelled Sir *John Berkeley* to make quick and wearisome marches with Horse and Dragoons from place to place, the wind coming fair, the Fleet left those who attended their Landing about *Totness*, turned about, and with a fresh Gale made towards the River, that leads to the Walls of *Exeter*, and having the Command of both sides of the River, upon a flat, by their Cannon, the Earl presumed that way he should be able to send Relief into the City; but the diligence, and providence of Sir *John Berkeley* had fortunately cast up some slight works upon the advantageous Nooks of the River, in which his Men might be in some security from the Cannon of the Ships; and made great haste with his Horse to hinder their Landing; and so this Attempt was not only without success, but so unfortunate, that it discouraged the Seamen from endeavouring the like again. For after three or four hours pouring their great shot, from their Ships, upon the Land-Forces, the Tide falling, the Earl of *Warwick*

The Earl of
Warwick

fell off with his Fleet, leaving three Ships behind him, of which one was burnt, and the other two taken from the Land, in view of his whole Fleet; which no more looked after the Relief of *Exeter* that way.

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with his Fleet
attempts the
relief of it, but
succeeds not.

Whilst all the King's Forces were employed in the blocking up the Town, and attending the Coast, to wait upon the Earl of *Warwick*, the Garrison of *Plymouth* increased very fast, into which the Fleet disburdened themselves of all they could spare; and the North parts of *Devonshire* gathered apace into a head for the Parliament; *Barnstable*, and *Bediford*, being Garrisoned by them; which having an uninterrupted line of Communication with *Plymouth*, resolved to join their whole strength, and so to compel the Enemy to draw off from the Walls of *Exeter*, which had been very easy to have been done, if they in the City had been as active for their own Preservation. Sir *John Berkeley* having notice of this Preparation and Resolution, sent Colonel *John Digby* (who had from their first entrance into *Cornwal*, Commanded the Horse) with his own Regiment of Horse, and some loose Troops of Dragoons, into the North of *Devon*, to hinder the joining of the Rebels Forces. He chose *Torrington* for his Quarter, and within few days drew to him a Troop of new raised Horse, and a Regiment of Foot, raised by his old Friends in *Cornwal*; so that he had with him above three hundred Horse, and six or seven hundred Foot. Those of *Bediford* and *Barnstable*, being Superior in number, and apprehending that the King's Successes Eastward, might increase His strength and power There, and weaken Theirs, resolved to try their Fortunes; and joining themself-

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ves together, to the Number of above twelve hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse, under the Command of Colonel *Bennet*, hoped to surprize Colonel *John Digby* at *Torrington*; and he was upon the matter surprized: for albeit he had notice in the Night from *Barnstable*, "that the Forces drew out thence to *Bedford* in the Night, and that they intended to fall on " his Quarters early in the Morning;" and thereupon put himself into a posture to receive them, and drew up all his Forces together out of the Town, upon such a piece of ground, as, in that inclosed County, could be most advantageous for his Horse, having, through all the little Inclosures, cut Gaps, through which his Horse might enter; yet, after he had attended their coming till Noon, and heard no more of them, and his small Parties, which were sent out to inquire, returned with assurance, that there was no appearance of an Enemy, he believed they had given over their design; and so dismissed his Horse to their several Quarters, reserving only one hundred and fifty upon their Guard, and returned himself into the Town with the Foot.

But, within less than an hour, he received the Alarm, "that the Enemy was within half a Mile of " the Town." The confusion was very great, so that he resolved not to draw the Foot out of the Town; but having placed them in the best manner he could, upon the Avenues, himself went to the Horse out of the Town, resolving to wait upon the Rear of the Enemy; who were drawn up on the same piece of ground, on which he had expected them all the morning. The Colonel, whose

courage, and vivacity upon Action, was very eminent, and commonly very fortunate, intended rather to look upon them, than to engage with them, before his other Troops came up; but having divided his small Party of Horse, the whole consisting but of one hundred and fifty, into several Parties, and distributed them into several little Clofes, out of which there were gaps into the larger ground, upon which the Enemy stood, a forelorn hope of fifty Musqueteers advanced towards that ground where himself was, and if they had recovered the Hedge, they would easily have driven him thence. And therefore, as the only expedient left, himself taking four or five Officers into the Front with him, Charged that forelorn hope; which immediately threw down their Arms, and run upon their own Body, and carried so infectious a fear with them, that without making a Stand, or their Horse offering once to Charge, the whole Body Routed themselves, and fled; Colonel *Digby* following the execution with his Horse, till their Swords were blunted with slaughter, and his Numbers over-burdened with Prisoners; though the Foot out of the Town hastened to the chase, as soon as they saw what terror had possessed their Enemies.

In this Action (for it cannot be called a Battle; hardly a Skirmish; where no resistance was made) there were near two hundred killed, and above two hundred taken Prisoners, and those that fled contributed more to the Victory, than the Prisoners, or the slain, for they were scattered and dispersed over all the Country, and scarce a Man without a

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cut over the face and head, or some other hurt; that wrought more upon the Neighbours towards their conversion, than any Sermon could be Preached to them. Some of the Principal Officers, and of their Horse, got into *Bediford*, and *Barnstable*; and not considering the inconvenience of acknowledging, that God was extraordinary propitious to the Cavaliers, told strange stories of "the horror and" "fear that seized upon them, and that no body saw" "above six of the Enemy, that Charged them;" which proved a greater dismay to their Friends, than their Defeat.

At this time came Prince *Maurice* to *Exeter*, the fame of whose arrival brought a new terror, so that the Fort at *Appledore*, which commanded the River to *Barnstable* and *Bediford*, being delivered to Colonel *Digby*, within two or three days after his Victory, those two Towns shortly after submitted to his Majesty, upon promise of Pardon, and such other Articles as were of course; which Colonel *Digby* saw precisely observed, as far as concerned the Towns in point of plunder, or violence towards the Inhabitants. And this success so wrought upon the Spirits, and Temper of that People, that all the Persons of eminent disaffection withdrawing themselves, according to their liberty by the Articles; Colonel *Digby*, within very few days, increased his small Party to the Number of three thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse; with which he was by Prince *Maurice* ordered to march to *Plymouth*, and to block up that place from making incursions into the Country.

Barnstable
and *Bediford*
yielded to
him.

The loss of all their Garrisons on the North-Coast, and despair of succour or relief from any other place, prevailed with the Earl of *Stamford*, and that Committee in *Exeter* (to whom the Earl was not superior) to Treat with the Prince; and thereupon Articles were agreed to; and that rich and pleasant City was delivered on the fourth of *September*, which was within fourteen or sixteen days after Prince *Maurice* came thither, into the King's protection, after it had suffered no other distress, or impression from the Besiegers, than the being kept from taking the Air without their own Walls, and from being supplied from the Country - Markets.

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Exeter delivered to the Prince upon Articles, September 4.

There was an accident fell out a little before this time, that gave new Argument of trouble to the King, upon a difference between Prince *Maurice* and the Marquis. It hath been said, that the Earl of *Carnarvon*, who was General of the Horse of the Western Army, had marched from *Bristol* the day before the Prince, and had taken *Dorchester*, and *Weymouth*, before his Highness came up to the Army, both considerable places, and the Seats of great Malignity. The former was not thought necessary to be made a Garrison, but the latter was the best Port-Town of that County, and to be kept with great care. The Marquis had made some promise of the Government thereof, when it should be taken (of which they made no doubt) to Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, a young Gentleman of that County, of a fair and plentiful Fortune, and one, who in the opinion of most Men, was like to advance the place by being Governor of it, and to raise Men for the defence of it,

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without lessening the Army; and had, in expectation of it, made some provision of Officers and Soldiers, when it should be time to call them together. Prince *Maurice*, on the other side, had some other Person in his view, upon whom he intended to confer that charge, when it should fall. In the moment that the Town was taken, and before the Prince came thither, Sir *Anthony*, hearing that the Marquis came not with the Army, but remained some time at *Bristol*, made all the haste he could to him, and came thither the same day the King left it; and applied himself to the Marquis, who remembered his promise, and thought himself obliged to make it good, and that it was in his power so to do, since it appeared, that the Town was taken before the King had declared to him, that he should not go to the Army; till when he ought to be looked upon as General of it. He conferred with the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon it, as a matter in which his Honor was concerned, and on which his heart was set. Sir *Anthony* came likewise to him, who was of his acquaintance, and desired his assistance, "that, after
" so much charge he had been put to, in the expectation of it, and to prepare for it; he might not
" be exposed to the Mirth, and Contempt of the
" Country." It was evident that if he returned with the Commission from the Marquis (which he was most inclined to give him) both He and the Commission would be affronted, and the Town would not be suffered to submit to him. Therefore the Chancellor was of opinion, that there was no way but to appeal to the King, and desire his Favor, as

well as his Justice, in giving his Commission to the Person designed by the Marquis; which would remove that part of the exception, which would most trouble the Prince; and he offered to write himself very earnestly to the King. Besides his desire to gratify the Marquis, he did in truth believe it of great importance to his Majesty's Service, to engage a Person of such a Fortune and Interest, so thoroughly in his quarrel, as he then believed such an obligation must needs do; the flexibility and instability of that Gentleman's nature, not being then understood, or suspected.

He did write, with all the skill and importunity he could use, to the King; and writ to the Lord *Falkland*, "to take Sir *John Colepepper* with him, if he found any aversion in the King, that they might together discourse, and prevail with him." But his Majesty positively and obstinately refused to grant it; and said, "he would not, to please the Marquis in an unjust pretence, put a public dis-obligation and affront upon his Nephew." So the express returned without effect, and the Marquis was as sensibly touched as could be imagined; and said, "that he was fallen from all credit with the King, and was made incapable of doing him farther Service; that his Fidelity should never be lessened towards him" (as in truth he was incapable of a disloyal thought) "but since he was become so totally useless to the King, and to his Friends, he hoped his Majesty would give him leave to retire to his own House; where, he doubted not, he should be suffered to live privately, and quietly,

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"to pray for the King." The Chancellor knew well the nature of the Marquis, that would never give him leave to pursue any Resolution which he found might prove inconvenient to his Majesty, for whom he had all possible duty; yet he knew too, that the mischief was not small, from the observation that the Marquis thought himself ill used, and that there were too many who would take the opportunity to foment those jealousies and discontents; and therefore resolved (having despatched all things which were incumbent on him at *Bristol*, and used all freedom with the Marquis, for the dispelling all troublesome imaginations) to go himself to the King, and to represent that affair to him, and the probable consequences of it, with new Instances. And at last, with very great difficulty, he did so far prevail with his Majesty, that he gave a Commission to Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, to be Governor of *Weymouth*; which he was the more easily persuaded to, out of some prejudice he had to the Person, who, he understood, was designed to that Government. However, the Marquis received it as a seasonable Act of favor to himself, and in a short time after, came from *Bristol* to *Oxford*, to attend upon his Majesty according to his Command.

The Prosecu-
tion of the
Siege of
Glocester.

At *Glocester* the business proceeded very slowly: for though the Army increased wonderfully there, by the access of Forces from all Quarters, yet the King had neither Money, nor materials requisite for a Siege, and they in the Town behaved themselves with great Courage and Resolution, and made many sharp and bold Sallies upon the King's Forces, and Did

more hurt commonly than they Received; and many Officers of Name, besides common Soldiers, were slain in the Trenches, and Approaches; the Governor leaving nothing unperformed that became a vigilant Commander. Sometimes, upon the Sallies, the Horse got between the Town and Them, so that many Prisoners were taken, who were always drunk; and, after they were recovered, they confessed, "that the Governor always gave the Party that made the Sally; as much Wine and strong Water as they desired to drink:" so that it seems their mettle was not purely natural; yet it is very observable, that, in all the time the King lay there with a very glorious Army, and after the taking of a City of much greater name, there was not one Officer run from the Town to him, nor above three common Soldiers, which is a great Argument, the discipline within was very good. Besides the loss of Men before the Town, both from the Walls, and by sickness (which was not greater than was to be reasonably expected) a very great Licence broke into the Army both among Officers, and Soldiers; the malignity of those parts being thought excuse for the exercise of any rapine, or severity among the Inhabitants. Insomuch as it is hardly to be credited, how many thousand Sheep were in a few days destroyed, besides what were brought in by the Commissaries for a regular provision; and many Country-Men imprisoned by Officers without Warrant, or the least knowledge of the King's, till they had paid good Sums of Money, for their Delinquency; all which brought great clamor upon the Discipline of the

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B O O K VII. Army, and Justice of the Officers, and made them likewise less prepared for the Service they were to expect.

In the mean time nothing was left at *London* unattempted, that might advance the preparation for the relief of *Glocester*. All Overtures of Peace were suppressed, and the City purely at the Devotion of those who were most Violent, who put one compliment upon them at this time, that is not to be passed over. It is remembered before, that, at the beginning of these distractions, before the King's going into the North, his Majesty had, upon the reiterated importunity of the two Houses, made Sir *John Coniers* Lieutenant of the Tower of *London*; who was a Soldier of very good estimation, and had been the Lieutenant-General of his Horse in that last preparation against the *Scots*, and Governor of *Berwick*. The Parliament thought, by this obligation, to have made him their own Creature, and desired to have engaged him in some active Command in their Armies, having the Reputation of one of the best Officers of Horse of that time. But he warily declined that engagement, and contained himself within the limits of that place, which, by the multitude of Prisoners, sent to the Tower by the two Houses, and the excessive Fees they paid, yielded him a vast profit; in the administration whereof, he was so impartial, that those Prisoners who suffered most for his Majesty, found no more favor or indulgence from him, than the rest. About this time, either discerning that they grew to Confide less in him, than they had done, and that he must engage

himself in their Service, or should shortly lose the benefit of their good opinion, or really abhorring to be so near those Actions he saw every day committed, and to lie under the scandal of keeping his Majesty's only Fort which he could not apply to his Service, he desired leave from the Houses, "to go into *Holland*," where his Education had been, and his Fortune was, without obliging himself to a time of return. The Proposition was not unwelcome to the Houses; and thereupon they immediately committed that charge, the Custody of the Tower of *London*, to the Lord-Mayor *Pennington*; that the City might see they were trusted to hold their own Reins, and had a jurisdiction committed to them which had always justified with their own. This compliment served to a double purpose; for thereby, as they made the City believe they had put themselves under their protection, so they were sure, they had put the City under the power, or under the apprehension of the power of him, who would never forsake them out of an Appetite to Peace.

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The Custody of the Tower committed by the two Houses to the Lord-Mayor Pennington.

The Earl of *Essex* now declared, that he would himself undertake the relief of *Glocester*, whereas before Sir *William Waller* was designed to it, and, whencesoever it proceeded, was returned to his old full alacrity against the King, and recovered those Officers and Soldiers again to him, who had absented by his Connivance; or upon an opinion that he would march no more; yet his Numbers increased not so fast as the occasion required: for Colonel *Massy* found means to send many Messengers out of the Town, to advertise the straits he was in, and

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the time that he should be able to hold out. Their Ordinance of Pressing, though executed with unusual rigor, insomuch as Persons of good Fortunes, who had retired to *London*, that they might be less taken notice of, were seized on, and detained in Custody, till they paid so much Money, or procured an able Man to go in their places, brought not in such a supply as they expected; and such as were brought in, and delivered to the Officers, declared such an averfeness to the work to which they were designed, and such a Peremptory resolution not to Fight, that they only increased their Numbers, not their Strength and run away upon the first opportunity. In the end, they had no other resort for Men; but to those who had so constantly supplied them with Money, and prevailed with their true Friends, the City, which they still alarmed with the King's irreconcilableness to them, to send three or four of their Trained-band-Regiments, or Auxiliaries, to Fight with the Enemy at that distance, rather than to expect him at their own Walls, where they must be assured to see him as soon as *Glocester* should be reduced; and then they would be as much perplexed with the Malignants within, as with the Enemy without their City.

Upon such Arguments, and the power of the Earl of *Essex*, so many Regiments of Horse and Foot as he desired, were assigned to march with him; and so, towards the end of *August*, he marched out of *London*; and having appointed a Rendezvous near *Aylesbury*, where he was met by the Lord *Grey*, and other Forces of the Associated Counties, from thence he marched by easy Journeys towards *Glocester*,

The Earl of
Essex marches
out of London
to relieve
Glocester.

with an Army of above eight thousand Foot, and four thousand Horſe. It would not at firſt be credited at the Leaguer, that the Earl of *Effex* could be in a condition to attempt ſuch a work; and therefore they were too negligent upon the Intelligence, and ſuſpected rather that he would give ſome Alarm to *Oxford*, where the Queen was, and thereby hope to draw the Army from *Gloceſter*, than that in truth he would venture upon ſo tedious a march, where he muſt paſs over a Campaign near thirty miles in length, where half the King's Body of Horſe would diſtreſs, if not deſtroy his whole Army, and through a Country eaten bare, where he could find neither Provision for Man nor Horſe; and if he ſhould, without interruption, be ſuffered to go into *Gloceſter*, he could neither ſtay there, nor poſſibly retire to *London*, without being deſtroyed in the Rear by the King's Army, which ſhould nevertheless not engage itſelf in the hazard of a Battle. Upon theſe concluſions they proceeded in their works before *Gloceſter*, their Galleries being near finiſhed, and viſibly a great want of Ammunition in the Town; yet the Lord *Wilmot* was appointed, with a good Party of Horſe, to wait about *Banbury*, and to retire before the Enemy, if he ſhould advance towards *Gloceſter*, and to give ſuch impediments to their March, as in ſuch a Country might be eaſy to do; Prince *Rupert* himſelf ſtaying with the Body of Horſe, upon the Hills above *Gloceſter*, to join, if the Earl of *Effex* ſhould be ſo hardy as to venture.

The Earl came to *Brackly*, and having there taken in from *Leiceſter* and *Bedford*, the laſt recruits upon

B O O K which he depended, he marched steadily over all
VII. that Campaign, which they thought he feared, to-
 wards *Gloceſter*; and though the King's Horſe were
 often within view, and entertained him with light
 Skirmiſhes, he purſued his direct way; the King's
 Horſe ſtill retiring before him, till the Foot was com-
 pelled to raiſe the Siege, in more diſorder and diſtrac-
 tion, than might have been expected; and ſo with
 leſs loſs, and eaſier Skirmiſhes, than can be imagin-
 ed, the Earl, with his Army and Train, marched
 to *Gloceſter*; where he found them reduced to one
 ſingle Barrel of Powder; and all other Proviſions
 anſwerable. And it muſt be confeſſed, that Governor
 gave a ſtop to the Career of the King's good Succeſs,
 and from his pertinacious defence of that place, the
 Parliament had time to recover their broken Forces,
 and more broken Spirits; and may acknowledge to
 this riſe, the greatneſs to which they afterwards
 aſpired.

The Siege of
Gloceſter
 raiſed.

The Earl of *Effex* ſtayed in that joyful Town
 (where he was received with all poſſible demonſtra-
 tions of Honor) three days; and in that time, which
 was as wonderful as any part of the Story, cauſed all
 neceſſary Proviſions to be brought in to them, out
 of thoſe very Quarters in which the King's Army had
 been ſuſtained, and which they conceived to be en-
 tirely ſpent: So ſolicitous were the People to conceal
 what they had, and to reſerve it for Them; which,
 without a Connivance from the King's Commiſſaries,
 could not have been done. All this time, the King
 lay at *Sudley-Caſtle*, the Houſe of the Lord *Chandois*,
 within eight Miles of *Gloceſter*, watching when that
 Army

Army would return; which, they conceived, stayed rather out of Despair than Election, in those eaten Quarters; and, to open them a way for their Retreat his Majesty removed to *Esham*, hoping the Earl would chuse to go back the same way he came; which, for many reasons, was to be desired; and thereupon the Earl marched to *Tewkesbury*, as if he had no other purpose. The King's Horse, though bold, and vigorous upon Action, and Execution, were always less patient of Duty, and ill Accommodation than they should be; and at this time, partly with weariness, and partly with the indisposition that possessed the whole Army upon this Relief of the Town, were less vigilant towards the motion of the Enemy: So that the Earl of *Essex* was marched with his whole Army and Train from *Tewkesbury*, four-and-twenty hours before the King heard which way he was gone: for he took the advantage of a dark night, and having sure Guides, reached *Cirencester*, before the breaking of the Day; where he found two Regiments of the King's Horse quartered securely; all which, by the negligence of the Officers (a common and fatal Crime throughout the War, on the King's part) he surpris'd, to the number of above three hundred; and which was of much greater value, he found there a great quantity of Provisions, prepared, by the King's Commissaries, for the Army before *Glocester*, and which they neglected to remove after the Siege was rais'd, and so most sottishly left it for the Relief of the Enemy, far more apprehensive of Hunger than of the Sword; and indeed this wonderful supply strangely exalted

The Earl of
Essex in his
return seizes
upon Cirencester.

their Spirits, as sent by the special care and extraordinary hand of Providence, even when they were ready to faint.

From hence the Earl, having no farther apprehension of the King's Horse, which he had no mind to encounter upon the open Campaign, and being at the least twenty Miles before him, by easy marches, that his sick and wearied Soldiers might overtake him, moved, through that deep and enclosed County of North *Wiltshire*, his direct way to *London*. As soon as the King had sure notice which way the Enemy was gone, he endeavoured, by expedition and diligence, to recover the advantage, which the supine negligence of those he trusted, had robbed him of; and Himself, with matchless industry, taking care to lead up the Foot, Prince *Rupert*, with near five thousand Horse, marched Day and Night over the Hills, to get between *London* and the Enemy before they should be able to get out of those enclosed deep Countries, in which they were engaged between narrow Lanes, and to entertain them with Skirmishes till the whole Army should come up. This design, pursued and executed with indefatigable pains, succeeded to his wish; for when the Van of the Enemies Army had almost marched over *Awborne-Chase*, intending that Night to have reached *Newbury*, Prince *Rupert*, beyond their fear, or expectation, appeared with a strong Body of Horse so near them, that before they could put themselves in order to receive him, he Charged their Rear, and Routed them with good Execution; and though the Enemy performed the Parts of good Men, and applied themselves more

dexterously to the relief of each other, than on so sudden and unlooked for an occasion was expected, yet with some difficulty, and the loss of many Men, they were glad to shorten their Journey, and the Night coming on, took up their Quarters at *Hungerford*.

In this Conflict, which was very sharp for an hour or two, many fell of the Enemy, and of the King's Party none of Name, but the Marquis of *Vieu-Ville*, a Gallant Gentleman of the *French* Nation, who had attended the Queen out of *Holland*, and put himself as a Volunteer upon this Action, into the Lord *Jermyn's* Regiment. There were hurt many Officers, and among those the Lord *Jermyn* received a shot in his Arm with a Pistol, owing the preservation of his Life from other shots to the excellent temper of his Armour; and the Lord *Digby* a strange hurt in the face, a Pistol being discharged at so near a distance upon him, that the Powder fetched much blood from his face, and for the present blinded him, without farther mischief; by which it was concluded, that the Bullet had dropped out before the Pistol was discharged: And may be reckoned among one of those escapes, of which that Gallant Person hath passed a greater number, in the course of his Life, than any Man I know.

By this Expedition of Prince *Rupert*, the Enemy was forced to such delay, that the King came up with his Foot and Train, though his numbers, by his exceeding long and quick marches, and the Licence which many Officers and Soldiers took whilst the King lay at *E/ham*, were much lessened, being

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above two thousand fewer, than when he raised his Siege from *Glocester*. And when the Earl, the next day, advanced from *Hungerford*, hoping to recover *Newbury*, which Prince *Rupert* with his Horse would not be able to hinder him from; when he came within two Miles of the Town, he found the King possessed of it. For his Majesty, with his whole Army, was come thither two hours before; this put him to a necessity of staying upon the Field that Night; it being now the seventeenth day of *September*.

It was now thought by many, that the King had recovered whatsoever had been lost by former Over-fights, Omissions, or Neglects, and that by the destroying the Army which had relieved *Glocester*, he should be fully recompensed for being disappointed of that purchase. He seemed to be possessed of all advantages to be desired, a good Town to refresh his Men in, whilst the Enemy lodged in the Field, his own Quarters to friend, and his Garrison of *Wallingford* at hand, and *Oxford* itself within distance for supply of whatsoever should be wanting; when the Enemy was equally tired with long marches, and from the time that the Prince had attacked them, the day before, had stood in their Arms in a Country where they could not find Victual. So that it was conceived, that it was in the King's power, whether he would fight or no, and therefore that he might compel them to notable disadvantages, who must make their way through, or starve; and this was so fully understood, that it was resolved over night, not to engage in Battle; but upon such grounds as should give an Assurance of Victory. But, contrary

to this resolution, when the Earl of *Essex* had, with
 excellent conduct, drawn out his Army in Battalia,
 upon a Hill called *Bigg's-Hill*, within less than a
 mile of the Town, and ordered his Men in all places
 to the best advantage, by the precipitate Courage
 of some young Officers, who had good Commands,
 and who unhappily always undervalued the Courage
 of the Enemy, strong Parties became successively so
 far engaged, that the King was compelled to put the
 whole to the hazard of a Battle, and to give the
 Enemy at least an equal game to play.

It was disputed, on all parts, with great Fierce-
 ness and Courage; the Enemy preserving good
 Order, and standing rather to keep the ground they
 were upon, than to get more; by which they did not
 expose themselves to those disadvantages, which any
 motion would have offered to the Assailants. The
 King's Horse, with a kind of contempt of the Enemy,
 Charged with wonderful boldness, upon all grounds
 of inequality; and were so far too hard for the Troops
 of the other side, that they Routed them in most
 places, till they had left the greatest part of their
 Foot without any guard at all of Horse. But then
 the Foot behaved themselves admirably on the En-
 emies part, and gave their scattered Horse time to
 Rally, and were ready to assist and secure them upon
 all occasions. The *London-Trained-bands*, and Au-
 xiliary Regiments (of whose inexperience of danger;
 or any kind of Service, beyond the easy practice of
 their Postures in the Artillery-Garden, Men had till
 then too cheap an estimation) behaved themselves to
 wonder; and were, in truth, the preservation of

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 The Battle of
 Newbury.

BOOK VII. that Army that day. For they stood as a Bulwark and Rampire to defend the rest; and when their wings of Horse were scattered, and dispersed, kept their ground so steadily, that, though Prince *Rupert* himself led up the choice Horse to Charge them, and endured their storm of small shot, he could make no impression upon their stand of Pikes; but was forced to wheel about: of so Sovereign benefit and use, is that readiness, order, and dexterity in the use of their Arms, which hath been so much neglected.

It was fought all that day without any such notable turn, as that either Party could think they had much the better. For though the King's Horse made the Enemies often give ground, yet the Foot were so immoveable, that little was gotten by the other; and the first entrance into the Battle was so sudden and without Order, that, during the whole day, no use was made of the King's Cannon, though that of the Enemy was placed so unhappily, that it did very great execution upon the King's Party, both Horse and Foot. The night pasted them, when nothing else could; and each Party had then time to revolve the oversights of the day. The Enemy had fared at least as well as they hoped for; and therefore, in the morning early, they put themselves in order of marching, having an obligation in necessity to gain some place, in which they might eat and sleep. On the King's side there was not that caution which should have been the day before, and though the Number of the slain was not so great, as, in so hot a day, might have been looked for; yet very many Officers and Gentlemen were hurt: so that they

rather chose to take advantage of the Enemies motion, than to Charge them again upon the old ground, from whence they had been, by order, called off the night before, when they had recovered a Post, the keeping of which would much have prejudiced the Adversary. The Earl of *Essex* finding his way open, pursued his main design of returning to *London*, and took that way by *Newbury*, which led towards *Reading*; which Prince *Rupert* observing, suffered him, without interruption or disturbance, to pass, till his whole Army was entered into the narrow Lanes; and then with a strong Party of Horse; and one thousand Musqueteers, followed his Rear with so good effect, that he put them into great disorder, and killed many, and took many Prisoners. However the Earl, with the gros of his Army, and all his Cannon, got safe into *Reading*; and, after a night or two spent there to refresh and rest his Men, he moved in a slow and orderly march to *London*, leaving *Reading* to the King's Forces; which was presently possessed by Sir *Jacob Ashley*, with three thousand Foot and five hundred Horse, and made again a Garrison for the King: his Majesty and Prince *Rupert*, with the remainder of the Army, retiring to *Oxford*, and leaving a Garrison under the Command of Colonel *Boys* in *Donnington*. Castle (a House of *John Packer's*, but more famous for having been the Seat of *Geoffery Chaucer*, within a mile of *Newbury*) to Command the great Road, through which the Western-Trade was driven to *London*.

At this time Sir *William Waller* was at *Windfor*, with above two thousand Horse, and as many Foot;

B O O K as unconcerned for what might befall the Earl of
VII. *Essex*, as the Earl had formerly been on His behalf
 at *Roundway*-Hill: otherwise, if he had advanced
 upon the King to *Newbury* (which was not above
 twenty miles) when the Earl was on the other side,
 the King had been in great danger of an utter Defeat;
 and the apprehension of this, was the reason, or was
 afterwards pretended to be, for the hasty engage-
 ment in Battle.

The Earl of *Essex* was received at *London*, with
 all imaginable demonstrations of Affection, and Re-
 verence; Public, and Solemn Thanksgiving was
 appointed for his Victory; for such they made no
 scruple to declare it. Without doubt, the Action
 was performed by him with incomparable Conduct
 and Courage; in every part whereof, very much
 was to be imputed to his own Personal Virtue; and
 it may be well reckoned among the most Soldierly
 Actions of this unhappy War. For he did the busi-
 ness he undertook, and, after the Relief of *Glocester*,
 his next care was to retire with his Army to *London*;
 which, considering the length of the way, and the
 difficulties he was to contend with, he did with less
 loss than could be expected; on the other hand, the
 King was not without signs of a Victory. He had
 followed, and compelled the Enemy to Fight, by
 overtaking him, when he desired to avoid it. He
 had the spoil of the Field, and pursued the Enemy
 the next day after the Battle, and had a good exe-
 cution upon them, without receiving any loss; and,
 which seemed to Crown the Work, fixed a Garrison
 again at *Reading*, and thereby straitened their

Quarters as much as they were in the beginning of the year; his own being enlarged by the almost entire Conquest of the West, and his Army much stronger, in Horse and Foot, than when he first took the Field. On which side soever the Marks and public Ensigns of Victory appeared most conspicuous, certain it is, that according to the unequal fate, that attended all Skirmishes and Conflicts with such an Adversary, the loss on the King's side was in Weight much more considerable, and penetrating; for whilst some obscure, unheard of Colonel or Officer, was missing on the Enemies side, and some Citizen's Wife bewailed the loss of her Husband, there were on the other, above twenty Officers of the Field, and Persons of Honor, and public Name, slain upon the place, and more of the same Quality hurt.

Here fell the Earl of *Sunderland*, a Lord of great Fortune, tender years (being not above three-and-twenty years of Age) and an early Judgment; who, having no Command in the Army, attended upon the King's Person, under the obligation of Honor; and putting himself that day in the King's Troop a Volunteer, before they came to Charge, was taken away by a Cannon-Bullet.

The Earl of
Sunderland
slain in this
Battle.

This day also fell the Earl of *Carnarvon*, who, after he had Charged, and Routed a Body of the Enemies Horse, coming carelessly back by some of the scattered Troopers, was, by one of them who knew him, run through the Body with a Sword; of which he died within an hour. He was a Person, with whose great Parts and Virtue, the world was not

And the Earl
of Carnarvon;
his Character

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enough acquainted. Before the War, though his Education was adorned by Travel, and an exact observation of the manners of more Nations, than our Common - Travellers use to visit (for he had, after the view of *Spain*, *France*, and most parts of *Italy*, spent some time in *Turky*, and those Eastern Countries) he seemed to be wholly delighted with those looser Exercises of pleasure, hunting, hawking, and the like; in which the Nobility of that time too much delighted to excel. After the Troubles begun, having the Command of the first or second Regiment of Horse, that was raised for the King's Service, he wholly gave himself up to the Office and duty of a Soldier; no Man more diligently Obeying, or more dexterously Commanding; for he was not only of a very keen Courage in the exposing his Person, but an excellent Discerner and Pursuer of Advantage upon his Enemy. He had a mind and understanding very present in the Article of danger, which is a rare benefit in that profession. Those Infirmities, and that Licence, which he had formerly indulged to himself, he put off with severity, when others thought them excusable under the notion of a Soldier. He was a great lover of Justice, and practised it then most deliberately, when he had power to do wrong: and so strict in the observation of his word, and promise, as a Commander, that he could not be persuaded to stay in the West, when he found it not in his power to perform the Agreement he had made with *Dorchester*, and *Weymouth*. If he had lived, he would have proved a great Ornament to that pro-

feſſion, and an excellent Soldier, and by his death the King found a ſenſible weakneſs in his Army. B O O K VII.

But I muſt here take leave a little longer to diſcontinue this Narration: and if the celebrating the memory of eminent, and extraordinary Perſons, and transmitting their great Virtues, for the imitation of Poſterity, be one of the principal ends and duties of Hiſtory, it will not be thought impertinent, in this place, to remember a loſs which no time will ſuffer to be forgotten, and no ſucceſs or good fortune could repair. In this unhappy Battle, was ſlain the Lord Viſcount *Falkland*; a Perſon of ſuch prodigious parts of Learning and Knowledge, of that inimitable ſweetneſs and delight in Converſation, of ſo flowing and obliging a humanity and goodneſs to Mankind, and of that primitive ſimplicity and integrity of Life, that if there were no other brand upon this odious and accuſed Civil War, than that ſingle loſs, it muſt be moſt infamous, and execrable to all Poſterity. And the Lord Viſcount Falkland; his Character.

Turpe mori, poſt te, ſolo non poſſe dolore.

Before this Parliament, his condition of life was ſo happy that it was hardly capable of improvement. Before he came to be twenty years of Age, he was Maſter of a noble Fortune, which deſcended to him by the gift of a Grandfather, without paſſing through his Father or Mother, who were then both alive, and not well enough contented, to find themſelves paſſed by in the deſcent. His Education for ſome years had been in *Ireland*, where his Father was Lord Deputy; ſo that, when he returned into *England*, to

B O O K VII. the possession of his Fortune, he was unintangled with any Acquaintance or Friends, which usually grow up by the custom of Conversation; and therefore was to make a pure Election of his Company; which he chose by other Rules than were prescribed to the young Nobility of that time. And it cannot be denied, though he admitted some few to his Friendship for the agreeableness of their Natures, and their undoubted Affection to him, that his familiarity and friendship, for the most part, was with Men of the most eminent and sublime Parts, and of untouched Reputation in point of Integrity; and such Men had a Title to his Bosom.

He was a great Cherisher of Wit, and Fancy, and good Parts, in any Man; and, if he found them clouded with Poverty or Want, a most liberal and bountiful Patron towards them, even above his Fortune; of which, in those administrations, he was such a Dispenser, as, if he had been trusted with it to such Uses, and if there had been the least of Vice in his expense, he might have been thought too prodigal. He was constant and pertinacious in whatsoever he resolved to do, and not to be wearied by any pains that were necessary to that end. And therefore having once resolved not to see *London*, which he loved above all places, till he had perfectly learned the Greek Tongue, he went to his own House in the Country, and pursued it with that indefatigable Industry, that it will not be believed in how short a time he was Master of it, and accurately read all the Greek Historians.

In this time, his House being within little more

than ten miles of *Oxford*, he contracted familiarity and friendship with the most polite and accurate Men of that University; who found such an immensity of Wit, and such a solidity of Judgment in him, so infinite a Fancy, bound in by a most Logical ratiocination, such a vast knowledge, that he was not ignorant in any thing, yet such an excessive humility, as if he had known nothing, that they frequently resorted, and dwelt with him, as in a College situated in a purer Air; so that his House was a University in a less Volume; whither they came not so much for Repose as Study; and to examine and refine those grosser Propositions, which laziness and consent made current in vulgar Conversation.

Many attempts were made upon him by the instigation of his Mother (who was a Lady of another persuasion in Religion, and of a most Masculine understanding, allayed with the passion and infirmities of her own Sex) to pervert him in his Piety to the Church of *England*, and to reconcile him to that of *Rome*; which they prosecuted with the more confidence, because he declined no opportunity or occasion of conference with those of that Religion, whether Priests, or Laics; having diligently studied the controversies, and exactly read all, or the choicest of the Greek, and Latin Fathers, and having a Memory so stupendous, that he remembered, on all occasions, whatsoever he read. And he was so great an Enemy to that passion and uncharitableness, which he saw produced, by difference of opinion, in matters of Religion, that in all those disputations with Priests, and others of the Roman Church, he affected to

B O O K manifest all possible Civility to their Persons, and
VII. estimation of their Parts ; which made them retain still some hope of his reduction, even when they had given over offering farther reasons to him to that purpose. But this charity towards them was much lessened, and any correspondence with them quite declined when, by sinister Arts, they had corrupted his two younger Brothers, being both Children, and stolen them from his House, and transported them beyond Seas, and perverted his Sisters: upon which occasion he writ two large discourses against the principal positions of that Religion, with that sharpness of Style, and full Weight of Reason, that the Church is deprived of great Jewels in the concealment of them and that they are not published to the world.

He was superior to all those passions and affections, which attend Vulgar minds, and was guilty of no other ambition than of knowledge, and to be reputed a Lover of all good Men; and that made him too much a contemner of those Arts, which must be indulged in the transactions of human Affairs. In the last short Parliament, he was a Burgess in the House of Commons; and, from the Debates which were there managed with all imaginable gravity and sobriety, he contracted such a reverence to Parliaments, that he thought it really impossible they could ever produce mischief or inconvenience to the Kingdom; or that the Kingdom could be tolerably happy in the intermission of them. And from the unhappy and unseasonable dissolution of that Convention, he harboured, it may be, some jealousy and prejudice to the Court, towards which he was not Before immoderately in-

elined; his Father having wasted a full Fortune there, in those offices and employments by which other Men use to obtain a greater. He was chosen again this Parliament to serve in the same place, and, in the beginning of it, declared himself very sharply and severely against those exorbitances, which had been most grievous to the State; for he was so rigid an observer of established Laws and Rules, that he could not endure the least breach, or deviation from them; and thought no mischief so intolerable as the presumption of Ministers of State, to break positive Rules, for reasons of State; or Judges to transgress known Laws, upon the Title of Conveniency, or Necessity; which made him so severe against the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Lord *Finch*, contrary to his Natural gentleness, and temper: insomuch as they, who did not know his composition to be as free from Revenge, as it was from Pride, thought that the sharpness to the Former, might proceed from the Memory of some unkindnesses, not without a mixture of Injustice, from him towards his Father. But without doubt he was free from those temptations, and in both cases was only misled by the Authority of those, who, he believed, understood the Laws perfectly; of which, himself was utterly ingorant; and if the assumption, which was then scarce controverted, had been true, "that an Endeavour to overthrow the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom was Treason," a strict understanding might make reasonable conclusions to satisfy his own judgment, from the exorbitant parts of their several Charges.

The great opinion he had of the uprightness, and

B O O K integrity of those Persons who appeared most active,
VII. especially of Mr. *Hambden*, kept him longer from suspecting any design against the Peace of the Kingdom; and though he differed from them commonly in conclusions, he believed long their purposes were honest. When he grew better informed what was Law, and discerned in them a desire to control that Law by a Vote of one, or both Houses, no Man more opposed those attempts, and gave the adverse Party more trouble by reason and argumentation; inasmuch as he was, by degrees, looked upon as an Advocate for the Court, to which he contributed so little, that he declined those addresses, and even those Invitations which he was obliged almost by civility to entertain. And he was so jealous of the least imagination that he should incline to Preferment, that he affected even a moroseness to the Court, and to the Courtiers; and left nothing undone which might prevent, and divert the King's or Queen's Favor towards him, but the deserving it. For when the King sent for him once or twice to speak with him, and to give him thanks for his excellent comportment in those Counsels, which his Majesty graciously termed "doing him Service," his Answers were more negligent, and less satisfactory, than might be expected; as if he cared only, that his Actions should be Just, not that they should be Acceptable, and that his Majesty should think that they proceeded only from the impulsion of Conscience, without any sympathy in his Affections; which, from a Stoical and Sullen Nature, might not have been misinterpreted; yet, from a Person of so perfect a habit of generous,

generous, and obsequious compliance with all good Men, might very well have been interpreted by the King as more than an ordinary averfeness to his Service: fo that he took more pains, and more forced his Nature to Actions unagreeable, and unpleasant to it, that he might not be thought to incline to the Court, than moft Men have done to procure an Office there. And if any thing but not doing his duty, could have kept him from receiving a Testimony of the King's Grace and Truft, at that time, he had not been called to his Council; not that he was in truth averfe from receiving public Employment; for he had a great devotion to the King's Perfon, and had before ufed fome fmall endeavour to be recommended to him for a Foreign Negotiation, and had once a defire to be fent Ambaffador into *France*; but he abhorred an imagination or doubt fhould fink into the thoughts of any Man, that in the difcharge of his truft and duty in Parliament, he had any bias to the Court, or that the King himfelf fhould apprehend, that he looked for a reward for being Honeft.

For this reafon, when he heard it firft whifpered, “ that the King had a purpofe to make him a Privy-
“ Counfellor,” for which there was, in the beginning no other ground, but becaufe he was known fufficient (*haud femper errat fama, aliquando & eligit*) he refolved to decline it; and at laft fuffered himfelf only to be over ruled by the advice and perfuafions of his Friends, to fubmit to it. Afterwards, when he found that the King intended to make him Secretary of State, he was pofitive to refufe it; declaring to his Friends, “ that he was moft unfit for it, and that he

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" must either do that which would be great disquiet to his own Nature, or leave that undone which was most necessary to be done by one that was honored with that place; for the most just and honest Men did, every day, that which he could not give himself leave to do." And indeed he was so exact, and strict an Observer of Justice and Truth, that he believed those necessary condescensions and applications to the weakness of other Men, and those Arts and Insinuations which are necessary for discoveries, and prevention of ill, would be in Him a declension from his own rules of life; though he acknowledged them fit, and absolutely necessary to be practised in those employments. He was, in truth, so precise in the practice principles he prescribed Himself (to all others he was as indulgent) as if he had lived in *Repubblica Platonis*, non in *facie Romuli*.

Two reasons prevailed with him to receive the Seals, and but for those he had resolutely avoided them. The first, the consideration that his refusal might bring some blemish upon the King's Affairs, and that Men would have believed, that he had refused so great an Honor and Trust, because he must have been with it obliged to do somewhat else not justifiable. And this he made matter of Conscience, since he knew the King made choice of him, before other Men, especially because he thought him more honest than other Men. The other was, lest he might be thought to avoid it out of fear to do an ungracious thing to the House of Commons, who were sorely troubled at the displacing Sir *Harry Vane*, whom they looked upon as removed for having done them

those Offices they stood in need of; and the disdain of so popular an incumbrance wrought upon him next to the other. For as he had a full appetite of fame by just and generous Actions, so he had an equal contempt of it by any servile expedients: and he so much the more consented to, and approved the Justice upon Sir *Harry Vane*, in his own private judgement, by how much he surpassed most Men in the Religious observation of a Trust; the violation whereof he would not admit of any excuse for.

For these reasons, he submitted to the King's Command, and became his Secretary, with as humble and devoted an acknowledgment of the greatness of the obligation, as could be expressed, and as true a sense of it in his heart. Yet two things he could never bring himself to, whilst he continued in that Office, that was to his death; for which he was contended to be reproached, as for omissions in a most necessary part of his place. The one, employing of Spies, or giving any countenance, or entertainment to them. I do not mean such Emissaries, as with danger would venture to view the Enemies Camp, and bring Intelligence of their Number, or quartering, or any particulars that such an observation can comprehend; but those, who by communication of Guilt, or Dissimulation of manners, wind themselves into such Trusts and Secrets, as enable them to make discoveries. The other, the Liberty of opening Letters, upon a suspicion that they might contain matter of dangerous consequence. For the first, he would say, "such Instruments must be void of all Ingenuity, and common Honesty,

BOOK VII. “ before they could be of use; and afterwards they
 “ could never be fit to be credited: and that no
 “ single preservation could be worth so general a
 “ wound, and corruption of human society, as the
 “ cherishing such Persons would carry with it.” The
 last, he thought “ such a violation of the Law of
 “ Nature, that no qualification by Office could jus-
 “ tify him in the trespass;” and though he was con-
 vinced by the necessity, and iniquity of the time,
 that those advantages of information were not to be
 declined, and were necessarily to be practised, he
 found means to put it off from himself; whilst he con-
 fessed he needed excuse and pardon for the omission;
 so unwilling he was to resign any part of good Na-
 ture to an obligation in his Office.

In all other particulars he filled his place with great
 sufficiency, being well versed in Languages, to un-
 derstand any that are used in business, and to make
 himself again understood. To speak of his Integrity,
 and his high disdain of any bait that might seem to
 look towards corruption, *in tanto viro, injuria virtu-
 tum fuerit.* Some sharp expressions he used against
 the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and his concurring
 in the first Bill to take away the Votes of Bishops in
 the House of Peers, gave occasion to some to believe,
 and opportunity to others to conclude, and publish,
 “ that he was no friend to the Church, and the estab-
 “ lished Government of it;” and troubled his very
 Friends much, who were more confident of the con-
 trary, than prepared to Answer the Allegations.

The truth is, he had unhappily contracted some
 prejudice to the Arch-Bishop; and having observed

his Passion, when, it may be, multiplicity of business, or rather indisposition had possessed him, did with him less intangled and engaged in the business of the Court, or State: though, I speak it knowingly, he had a singular estimation and reverence of his great Learning, and confessed Integrity; and really thought his own letting himself loose to those expressions which implied a disesteem of the Arch-Bishop, or at least an acknowledgment of his Infirmities, would enable him to shelter him from part of the storm he saw raised for his destruction; which he abominated with his Soul.

The giving his consent to the first Bill for the displacing the Bishops, did proceed from two grounds: The first, his not understanding Then the Original of their Right and Suffrage there: the other, an opinion, that the combination against the whole Government of the Church by Bishops, was so violent and furious, that a less composition than the dispensing with their intermeddling in Secular Affairs, would not preserve the Order. And he was persuaded to this by the profession of many Persons of Honor, who declared, "they did desire the one, and would not then press the other;" which, in that particular, misled many Men. But when his observation and experience made him discern more of their Intentions, than he before suspected, with great frankness he opposed the second Bill that was preferred for that purpose; and had, without scruple, the order itself in perfect reverence; and thought too great Encouragement could not possibly be given to Learning, nor too great Rewards to Learned Men.

BOOK VII. He was never, in the least degree, swayed or moved by the objections which were made against that Government in the Church (holding them most ridiculous) or affected to the other, which those Men fancied to themselves.

He had a Courage of the most clear and keen temper, and so far from fear, that he seemed not without some Appetite of danger; and therefore, upon any occasion of Action, he always engaged his Person in those Troops which he thought, by the forwardness of the Commanders, to be most like to be farthest engaged; and in all such Encounters, he had about him an extraordinary cheerfulness, without at all affecting the execution that usually attended them; in which he took no delight, but took pains to prevent it, where it was not, by resistance, made necessary: insomuch that at *Edge-hill*, when the Enemy was Routed, he was like to have incurred great Peril, by interposing to save those who had thrown away their Arms, and against whom, it may be,* others were more fierce for their having thrown them away: so that a Man might think, he came into the Field chiefly out of Curiosity to see the face of Danger, and Charity to prevent the shedding of Blood. Yet in his natural inclination he acknowledged he was addicted to the profession of a Soldier; and shortly after he came to his Fortune, before he was of Age, he went into the Low-Countries, with a resolution of procuring Command, and to give himself up to it; from which he was diverted by the complete inactivity of that Summer: So he returned into *England*, and shortly after entered upon that

vehement course of Study we mentioned before, till the first Alarm from the North; then again he made ready for the Field, and though he received some repulse in the Command of a Troop of Horse, of which he had a promise, he went a Volunteer with the Earl of *Essex*.

From the Entrance into this unnatural War, his natural cheerfulness and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of sadness, and dejection of Spirit stole upon him, which he had never been used to: yet being one of those who believed that one Battle would end all differences, and that there would be so great a Victory on one Side, that the Other would be compelled to submit to any conditions from the Victor (which supposition and conclusion generally sunk into the minds of most Men, and prevented the looking after many advantages that might then have been laid hold of) he resisted those indispositions, & *in luctu, bellum inter remedia erat*. But after the King's return from *Brentford*, and the furious resolution of the two Houses not to admit any Treaty for Peace, those indispositions, which had before touched him, grew into a perfect habit of uncheerfulness; and He, who had been so exactly easy, and affable to all Men, that his face and countenance was always present, and vacant to his Company, and held any cloudiness, and less pleasantness of the visage, a kind of rudeness or incivility, became, on a sudden, less communicable; and thence, very sad, pale, and exceedingly affected with the Spleen. In his Clothes and Habit, which he had minded before always with more neatness, and industry; and expense, than is

BOOK VII. usual to so great a Soul, he was not now only incurious, but too negligent; and in his reception of Suitors, and the necessary, or casual Addressees to his place, so quick, and sharp, and severe, that there wanted not some Men (strangers to his nature and disposition) who believed him proud and imperious; from which no mortal Man was ever more free.

It is true, that as he was of a most incomparable gentleness, application, and even submission to good, and worthy, and entire Men, so he was naturally (which could not but be more evident in his Place, which objected him to another conversation, and intermixture, than his own election would have done) *adversus malos injucundus*; and was so ill a dissembler of his dislike, and disinclination to ill Men, that it was not possible for Such not to discern it. There was once, in the House of Commons, such a declared acceptance of the good Service an eminent Member had done to Them, and, as they said, to the whole Kingdom, that it was moved, he being present, "that the Speaker might, in the name of the whole House, give him thanks; and then, that every Member might, as a testimony of his particular acknowledgment, stir or move his hat towards him;" the which (though not ordered) when very many did, the Lord *Falkland* (who believed the Service itself not to be of that moment, and that an honorable and generous Person could not have stooped to it for any recompence) instead of moving his hat, stretched both his Arms out, and clasped his hands together upon the Crown of his hat, and held it close down to his head; that all Men

might see, how odious that flattery was to him, and the very approbation of the Person, though at that time most popular. B • O • K
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When there was any Overture, or hope of Peace, he would be more erect, and vigorous, and exceedingly solicitous to press any thing which he thought might promote it; and sitting among his Friends, often, after a deep silence, and frequent sighs, would, with a shrill and sad accent, ingeminate the word *Peace, Peace*; and would passionately profess, "that the very agony of the War, and the view of the calamities and desolation the Kingdom did, and must endure, took his sleep from him, and would shortly break his heart." This made some think, or pretend to think, "that he was so much enamoured of Peace, that he would have been glad the King should have bought it at any price;" which was a most unreasonable Calumny. As if a Man that was himself the most punctual, and precise in every circumstance that might reflect upon Conscience, or Honor, could have wished the King to have committed a trespass against either. And yet this senseless scandal made some impression upon him, or at least he used it for an excuse of the daringness of his Spirit; for at the Leaguer before *Glocester*, when his Friend passionately reprehended him for exposing his Person unnecessarily to danger (for he delighted to visit the Trenches, and nearest approaches, and to discover what the Enemy did) as being so much beside the duty of his place, that it might be understood rather to be against it, he would say merrily, "that his Office could not take

BOOK VII. “ away the Privilege of his Age; and that a Secretary in War might be present at the greatest secret of danger,” but withal, alledged seriously, “ that it concerned Him to be more active in enterprises of hazard, than other Men; that all might see, that his impatience for Peace proceeded not from pusillanimity, or fear to adventure his own Person.”

In the morning before the Battle, as always upon Action, he was very cheerful, and put himself into the first rank of the Lord *Byron's* Regiment, then advancing upon the Enemy, who had lined the Hedges on both sides with Musqueteers; from whence he was shot with a Musquet in the lower part of the Belly, and in the instant falling from his Horse, his Body was not found till the next morning; till when, there was some hope he might have been a Prisoner; though his nearest Friends, who knew his temper, received small comfort from that imagination. Thus fell that incomparable young Man, in the four-and-thirtieth year of his Age, having so much despatched the true business of life, that the Eldest rarely attain to that immense Knowledge, and the Youngest enter not into the world with more Innocency: Whosoever leads such a life needs be the less anxious upon how short warning it is taken from him.

The Earl of
Essex returns
to London.

Now to go on with the Course of our History: the Earl of *Essex* entered into *London* on the 25th of *September* (a day we shall have occasion to remember upon another solemnity) and was the next day visited, at *Essex-House*, by the Speaker and the whole House of Commons, who declared to him, “ that they

“ came to congratulate his notable success, and to
“ render the thanks of the Kingdom to him, for his
“ incomparable Conduct and Courage; and that
“ they had caused their acknowledgment to be en-
“ tered in their Journal-Book, as a monument and
“ record of His Virtue, and Their gratitude.” A day
or two after, solemn Thanks were rendered to those
Members of both Houses who had Command in the
Army, and some extraordinary signification of res-
pect derived to the Superior Officers, throughout
the Army. A gaudy Letter of kindness and value,
was sent to Colonel *Maffy*, and, which made the
Letter of more Value, a thousand pounds was sent
him as a gratuity or present for his Service, over
and above what was due to him for his Pay, and some
largess to all the Inferior Officers, and a Month’s
Pay, over and above their Arrears, to the Soldiers
of that Garrison.

Left the discourse and apprehension of the jealousy
between the Earl of *Essex*, and Sir *William Waller*,
might administer hope or suspicion, that some divi-
sion might grow amongst themselves, and, from
thence, that the King might receive any Advantage,
great care was taken to make, and greater to publish,
a reconciliation between them; in which, Sir *Wil-*
liam was all submission and humility, and his Excel-
lence full of grace and courtesy. The Passion and
Animosity which difference of opinion had produced
between any Members, was totally laid aside and
forgotten, and no artifice omitted to make the world
believe, that they were a People newly incorporated,
and as firmly united to one and the same end, as their

B O O K Brethren the *Scots*; of whose concurrence and assistance they were now assured, and satisfied that it would come soon enough for their preservation; of which, they had not before a full confidence.

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Though the King's Army had all the Trophies of Victory in, and after this Battle, as is before related (It kept the Field, and had the spoil of it; It took some Pieces of the Enemies Cannon, who marched off in the Night, and were pursued with some considerable loss beyond *Reading*, where a Garrison was again placed for his Majesty, under the Command of Sir *Jacob Ashley*, Major-General of the Army, an excellent Officer; so that the Parliament was in so much a worse State than they were in the Spring, as the loss of *Bristol*, and most of the West amounted to; for by this time *Exeter* was likewise reduced by Prince *Maurice*) yet, notwithstanding all this, the Earl of *Essex*, as is said before, was received at *London* with all imaginable Gratulation and Triumph; he had done all that was expected from him, with many circumstances of great, Soldierly, and notable Courage, and the heart and Spirit of the Parliament was visibly much exalted, and their impatience for Peace quite abated.

The Temper
of the Army,
and the Court
at Oxford,
upon the
return of the
King thither

On the contrary, upon the King's return to *Oxford*, there appeared nothing but dejection of mind, discontent, and secret Mutiny in the Army, Anger and Jealousy among the Officers, every one accusing another of want of Courage and Conduct in the Actions of the Field; and they who were not of the Army, blaming them all for their several failings and gross oversights. The Siege of *Glocester* was not

believed to have been well Conducted, and that it might have been taken in half the time they were before it, if it had been skilfully gone about. The not engaging the Earl of *Essex* in all the march over so open a Country, was thought unexcusable, and was imputed to the want of Courage in *Wilmot*; whom Prince *Rupert* did in no degree favor: nor was the Prince himself without some reproaches, for suffering the Earl of *Essex*, after all the Horse was joined, to march down a long steep Hill into the Vale of *Glocester*, without any disturbance; and that the whole Army, when it was found necessary to quit the Siege, had not been brought to Fight in that Vale, and at some distance from the Town, when the King's Men were fresh, and the other Side tired with so long a March.

But then all Men renewed their Execrations against those who advised the sitting down before *Glocester*; the Officers, who had been present, and consenting to all the Counsels, disclaiming, as much as any, the whole design; and all conspired to lay the whole reproach upon the Master of the Rolls, who spoke most in those Debates, and was not at all gracious to the Soldiers: and this Clamor against that Engagement was so Popular and Universal, that no Man took upon himself to speak in Defence of it; though, besides the Reasons which have been formerly alledged for it, what happened in this last Action, in the Relief of *Glocester*, might well seem to justify it; for since it appeared, that the City was so much United to the Parliament, that it supplied their Army with such a Body of their Trained-bands (without which

B O O K VII. it could never have marched) with what success could his Majesty have approached *London*, after the taking of *Bristol*, with his harassed Army? and would not the whole Body of the Trained-bands have defended That, when so considerable a part of them could be persuaded to undertake a March of two hundred Miles? for less they did not March, from the time they went out, to that in which they returned. But no reason could ever Convert those, who looked upon that Undertaking at *Glocester*, as the ruin of the King's Affairs.

The Temper of the Court was no better than that of the Army: and the King was so much troubled with both, that he did not enjoy the quiet his Condition required. They who had forborne to be importunate for Honors, or Offices, because they knew they should not be able to obtain their desires from the King, made their Modesty an argument of their Merit to the Queen, and assured Her, "that they had forborne to ask any thing in Her absence, " because they had always resolved never to receive " any thing, but by Her bounty:" Many pretended former promises and engagements for Creations of Honor, as soon as any thing should be done of that kind. And it is true enough, that both their Majesties had given themselves ease from present importunities, by making promises, with reference to a time, which they imagined, and, at that time, resolved should not be soon: and now there was no sooner mention of conferring Honor upon one or two whom they had a mind to gratify, but the rest who had that promise, were very importunate and cla-

morous for the same Justice. By this means they were, upon the matter, compelled to gratify some Men to whom they bore no good will; and so, they who received the favors were no more pleased, than they were who conferred them; and they who were without Ambition before, when they saw Honors and Offices conferred upon Men, who, they thought did not merit them better than themselves, thought their Service undervalued if they did not receive the same reward. And it was a usual Prologue to suits of that kind, "that they did not desire it out of their own Ambition, but purely to satisfy their Friends; who withdrew their kindness from them, out of an opinion that they had offended the King, who would not otherwise put so great a difference between Them and other Men." Whence it may be observed, that Princes should not confer Public Rewards in a season when they can only gratify a Few, and so Many stand upon the same level in pretences, that they are apt to resent the preferring of One, as an Affront and disobligation to the Rest.

There was no particular that gave the King more inquietness, than the pretence of my Lord of *Holland*. The three Earls I before mentioned, had attended the King before he rose from *Glocester*, and had waited upon him throughout that march, and had Charged the Enemy, in the King's Regiment of Horse, at the Battle of *Newbury*, very bravely; and had behaved themselves, throughout, very well; and returned to *Oxford* with his Majesty; and now expected to be well looked upon: and the other Two had no cause to complain; the King, upon

B O O K all occasions, spoke very graciously to them, and
VII. particularly sent the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Earl of *Clare*, "that he had liberty, and might " be present at the Councils of War;" where the Peers usually were, and where the general matters of contribution, and such things as concerned the Country, were usually debated. But the Earl of *Holland* was not pleased; he thought nothing of former Miscarriages ought to be remembered; that all those were cancelled by the Merit of coming to the King now, and bringing such considerable Persons with him, and disposing others to follow; and expected, upon his first appearance, to have had his Key restored to him; to have been in the same condition he was in the Bed-Chamber, and in the Council, and in the King's Grace and Countenance; of all which he had assurance from the Queen before he came, at least from Mr. *Jermyn*, who, no doubt, did exceed his Commission; and the very deferring of this, was grievous to him; and the more, because he found the same disrespect from all others, as he had done when he came first to *Oxford*.

He came frequently in the afternoon to *Merton-College*; where the Queen lay, and where the King was for the most part at that time of the day, and both their Majesties looked well upon him, and spoke to him in public as occasion was administered. Sometimes the King went aside with him to the Window, in the same Room, where they spoke a quarter or half an hour together, out of the hearing of any body; which the Queen did often in the same manner; and Mr. *Jermyn*, who was about this time made a Baron,

was

was very frequently with him. The King was always upon his guard towards him, and did not, in truth, abate any thing of his former rigor or prejudice, and continued firm to his former resolutions. But the Queen, whether from her inclination, or promise, or dislike of most other People, who were not so good Courtiers (as sure none was equal to Him in that function and mystery) did in truth heartily desire, that he might receive satisfaction in all things, according to his own desire; and would have trusted him Himself as much as formerly. Yet she complied so far with the King's aversion, that she yet forbore to press it, or to own the encouragement she had given him; nor had she a willingness to oppose so great a torrent of prejudice, as she saw evidently run against him; so that she appeared not to wish what without doubt she would have been very glad of. However the Marquis of *Hertford* was now come to *Oxford*, and expected the performance of the King's promise to him, and to be admitted into the Office of Groom of the Stole, of which the King took not the least notice to him since his return; which made it the more suspected, that the intention was to re-admit the old Officer; and this apprehension was confirmed by the Queen's looking less graciously upon the Marquis, than she had used to do. And it is true, though it may be she did not intend to make any such discovery by her looks, she was not pleased that any such promise was made, both because it was without Her Consent, and as it crossed what she designed; and much desired that the Marquis could have been persuaded to have released it; towards which the

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Lord *Jermyn*, with some passion, spoke to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "how unreasonable a thing it was for the Marquis, who was Master of so great a Fortune," to affect such a low preferment (as he termed it) "and how generous a thing it would be to quit his pretence:" but he quickly discovered him not to be willing to engage in any such Proposition. All this wonderfully indisposed the other Lords, and the Persons of Quality in the Town, who did not wish to see the Court just filled as it had been, or the Queen Herself possessed of so absolute a power as she had been formerly; though they looked upon her Person with all Duty and Reverence.

The Earl of *Holland* did not act his own part with that art and dexterity, which might have been expected from his cunning and experience; nor had ever made the least Apology to the King for any thing he had formerly done; nor appeared to have the least sense that he had committed any error, as his Majesty himself declared to those, who he knew were his Friends; and said, "that he behaved himself with the same Confidence, and Assurance, as he had done when he was most in his favor; and that he retained still the old Artifice at Court, to be seen to whisper in the King's and Queen's ear, by which People thought there was some secret, when the matter of those whispers was nothing but what might be said in the open Court; and that the Earl of *Holland* had several times seemed to desire to say somewhat in private to him, upon which he had withdrawn from the Company to the end or corner of the Room; and, at first,

“ expected and apprehended, that he would say
 “ somewhat in his own excuse; but that he had
 “ never then said one word, but what he might
 “ have spoke in the Circle;” with which, the King
 said, “ he was the better pleased; and that he be-
 “ lieved, he had not been more particular in his
 “ discourse with the Queen, save that he used to
 “ entertain Her with the wisdom and power of the
 “ Parliament, and what great things they would be
 “ able to do, and how much they were respected
 “ in Foreign Parts; which, his Majesty said, was
 “ a strange discourse for a Man to make, who had
 “ so lately left them, because he thought the King’s
 “ condition to be the better of the two.”

The Earl had a Friend who did heartily desire to
 do him all the Offices, and Services, that would
 consist with the King’s Honor, and always appre-
 hended the ill consequence of discouraging such con-
 versions, and who spoke often to the Earl of his
 own Affairs. And when he complained of his usage,
 and repeated, what promises and encouragement he
 had received to come to the King, and of what im-
 portance his good reception would have been, “ that
 “ there were many of considerable Reputation, and
 “ Interest in the House of Commons (whom he
 named) “ who intended to have followed; and that
 “ the Earl of *Northumberland* expected only His
 “ Advice;” his Friend asked him, “ whether he
 “ had done all things, since he came to the King,
 “ which might reasonably be expected from him?”
 He said, “ he thought he had done all could be ex-
 “ pected from him, in bringing himself to the King;

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“ and, since his coming to him, in venturing his
“ life for him; and in lieu thereof he had not received
“ Thanks, or one gracious word; and now, after
“ his Office had been kept unbested near two
“ years, and a promise made to him, that he should
“ be restored to it, it was to be bestowed upon
“ another, to make his disgrace the more notorious;
“ which he thought would not prove for his Ma-
“ jesty's Honor or Advantage.”

His Friend asked him, “ whether he had asked it
“ of the King, or informed him of the promise that
“ was made to him ?” He said “ he Had done neither,
“ nor ever Would; he expected it of the King's
“ Grace, and would not extort it by a promise, which,
“ it might be, his Majesty was not privy to.” The
other replied very plainly to him, “ that if he thought
“ he had never committed any fault against the King,
“ he had no reason to acknowledge it, or make ex-
“ cuse for it; but if he were conscious of any such,
“ how unwarily soever it had been done, or how
“ unmaliciously soever it had been intended, he
“ ought to make some confession, and apology to
“ his Majesty; nor could his Majesty, with the safety
“ of his Honor, avow the receiving him into any
“ trust without it; nor was he capable of receiving
“ any Offices from his Friends, or the Queen's own
“ declared interposition on his behalf, till he had per-
“ formed that necessary Introduction. He told him,
“ if he would follow His advice, he believed he
“ might receive some effect of it, which was, “ that
“ he should send to desire a private Audience of his
“ Majesty in some Room, where no body might be

“ present; which would not be refused him; and then
“ he should (with all the excuses upon the terror the
“ Parliament gave to all Men, who had exceeded
“ the common Rules, in their Administration of
“ the trust they had from his Majesty; as he could
“ not deny He had done in many particulars for the
“ advancement of his Majesty’s Service) confess, that
“ he had not been hardy enough to contemn that
“ power, but had been so much in awe of it, that
“ he chose rather to presume upon his Majesty’s
“ goodness, than to provoke Their jealousy and
“ displeasure; and so had complied with them more,
“ than in his duty and gratitude to his Majesty he
“ ought to have done; for which he begged his
“ pardon upon his knees; and if he might obtain it,
“ he made no doubt, he should wipe out the memory
“ of past Offences by some new Services, which
“ should be beneficial to his Majesty;” and he added,
“ that he would do very well, if he would sue out
“ his pardon, as the Earl of *Bedford* had done; who
“ had asked it of the King when he first kissed his
“ hand, and since, wisely taken it out under the Great
“ Seal of *England*.

The Earl of *Holland* seemed not all pleased with this advice; said, “ he did not think, though he
“ would not justify all that he had done, his trans-
“ gressions were of that magnitude, that they requir-
“ ed such a formality of asking Pardon; that His case
“ was very different from that of the Earl of *Bedford*,
“ who had been in Arms, and a General Officer in
“ the Field against the King; whereas He had only
“ sat in the Parliament, as lawfully he might do;

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“ and if he had failed in his attendance upon his Majesty, and otherwise deserved his displeasure, he had received so many marks of it before he deserved it, that might well transport a very faithful Servant into a discontent. That as soon as he found himself restored to any proportion of his Majesty’s grace and confidence, his own inclination would carry him to as humble Apologies, and as deep acknowledgments of all his transgressions, as could be expected from him, and such as he believed would reconcile the King’s goodness to him: but to make the first advance by such a kind of submission, he did not think he could prevail over himself to do it.” However, he took his advice very kindly, and spoke often with him after upon the same Subject.

Being, upon conference with some other Friends, advised the same, especially by his Daughter (whom he loved and esteemed exceedingly) he seemed resolved to do it; but whether he thought worse of the King’s Affairs, or liked the Court the less, because he saw the poverty of it, and that whatever place or favor he might obtain, he could not expect a support from it do defray his expenses (nor could he draw it from any other place) he delayed it so long, that the King found it reasonable to confer the Office he had before promised upon the Marquis of *Hertford*.

Upon which he withdrew himself, for his convenience, to a Neighbour-Village, where he had a private Lodging; and, after few days, with the help of a dark Night and a good Guide, he got himself into the Enemies Quarters, and laid himself at the feet of the Parliament; which, after a short imprison-

The Earl of Holland returns into the Parliament’s Quarters.

ment, gave him leave to live in his own House, without farther considering him, than as a Man able to do little good or harm. And yet he did endeavour to render himself as grateful to them as he could, by an Act very unfuitable to his Honor, or his own generous Nature: for he published a Declaration in print of the cause of his going to, and returning from *Oxford*; in which, he endeavoured to make it believed, “ that his compassion, and love to his Country, had
 “ only prevailed with him to go to the King, in hope
 “ to have been able, upon the long knowledge his Majesty had of his fidelity, to persuade him to make a
 “ Peace with his Parliament; which, from the time
 “ of his coming thither, he had labored to do; but
 “ that he found the Court so indisposed to Peace, and
 “ that the Papists had so great a power there” (using many expressions dishonorable towards the King and his Council) “ that he resolved to make what haste
 “ he could back to the Parliament, and to spend the
 “ remainder of his life in Their Service:” which Action, so contrary to his own natural discretion and generosity, lost him the Affection of those few who had preserved some kindness for him, and got him credit with no body; and may teach all Men how dangerous it is to step aside out of the path of Innocence, and Virtue, upon any presumption to be able to get into it again; since such Men usually satisfy themselves in doing any thing to mend the present exigent they are in, rather than think of returning to that condition of Innocence from whence they departed with a purpose, perhaps, of returning.

However, this unhappy ill carriage of the Earl,

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doth not absolve the Court from oversight in treating him no better; which was a great error; and made the King, and all those about him, looked upon as implacable; and so diverted all Men from farther thoughts of returning to their Duty by such application, and made those who abhorred the War, and the violent Counsels in the carrying it on, chuse rather to acquiesce, and expect a Conjuncture when a general Peace might be made, than to expose themselves by unseasonable, and unwelcome Addresses. The Earl of *Northumberland*, who was gone to *Petworth*, as is said before, with a purpose of going to the King, If by the Lord *Conways* Negotiation. and the Earl of *Holland's* reception, he found encouragement, returned to the Parliament; where he was received with great respect; all Men concluding, that he had never intended to do, what he had Not done. And the other Members who had entertained the same resolutions, changed their minds with him, and returned to their former Station: and the two Earls who yet remained at *Oxford*, shortly after found means to make their Peace at *Westminster*; and returned again to their own Habitation in *London*, without a farther mark of displeasure, than a restraint, for a time, from coming to the House of Peers, or being trusted in their Counsels.

And likewise
the Earls of
Bedford and
Clare.

The Trans-
actions of the
Committee of
the two
Houses in
Scotland

The Committee from the two Houses of Parliament, which was sent into *Scotland* in *July* before, in the distraction of their Affairs, when Sir *William Waller* was defeated, and the Earl of *Essex's* Army unserviceable, as is remembered, found that Kingdom in so good and ready a posture for their recep-

tion, that they had called an Assembly of their Kirk, and a Convention of their Estates, Without, and expressly Against, the King's Consent; and without any color of Law; for the time, when by their late Act of Parliament, they might of right challenge those meetings, was not come by almost a year; and the King had refused to Convene them sooner. That Kingdom was at Unity and Peace amongst themselves, and so at the more leisure to help their Neighbours; and the Government of all Affairs in Their hands who were to be Confided in; and They again ruled, and disposed by a few who were thoroughly engaged in the Counsels and Discomposures in *England*; for all those who were visibly affected to the King's Service, or disaffected eminently to the Persons in Authority there, were fled the Kingdom: and they who stayed behind, either had, or pretended to have, the same affections; of which a full declared Zeal, and good Will to the Parliament of *England*, was a common evidence.

So that the Committee found as good a Welcome, as they could wish, and all Men disposed to gain their good opinion: a Committee was appointed, both out of the Convention of Estates, and the Assembly, "to Treat with them, and to make such conclusions, as might be thought necessary to advance the Peace and Happiness of both Kingdoms." These Men complied with them, in their full sense of the sad condition of the Affairs of *England*, and in their own concernment in the misfortunes, which should befall them: they said, "they well understood, how much the fate of *Scotland* was involved in what should befall the Parliament of *England*; and that if the King

B O O K
VII. “ prevailed by force, and by the power of his Army,
“ oppressed those Friends, who had expressed a
“ tenderness formerly towards them, they had reason
“ to expect the same Army should be applied to the
“ revenge of those indignities they would easily per-
“ suade his Majesty, he had suffered from that his
“ Native Kingdom: and therefore, they needed no
“ Arguments to persuade them, to commiserate the
“ Estate of their Brethren of *England*; or to convince
“ them, that Their case was their own, and their
“ mutual safety bound up together; but that those
“ Politic arguments and considerations, would have
“ no influence upon the People, who had such a
“ natural Affection and Loyalty to their Sovereign,
“ as no Earthly consideration would be able to pre-
“ vail with them to lessen their Obedience towards
“ his Majesty; and that, albeit there was no visible
“ Party and Faction, that appeared in the Kingdom
“ for the King, yet that there were many well
“ wishers to him, and maligners, in their hearts, of
“ the present Reformation; who, as soon as there
“ should be any preparation for an Army to march
“ into *England*, would be ready, upon the specious
“ Arguments of Duty to his Majesty, and of Peace
“ to their Country, and might be able, to give great
“ disturbance to the expedition, or to disquiet the
“ Realm, when the most eminently affected were
“ marched towards the relief of their distressed
“ Neighbours; except some obligation of Con-
“ science were laid upon the People; who only pre-
“ ferred what they called their Piety to God, before

" inclination to their Prince, and the setting up the B O O K
 " Kingdom of Jesus Christ, before the vindication VII.
 " of a temporal jurisdiction."

For such an expedient therefore, they proposed, A Covenant
proposed by
the Scots
between the
two King-
doms, and
agreed to.
 " that a Covenant might be agreed upon between
 " the two Kingdoms, for the utter extirpation of
 " Prelacy, which that Kingdom was satisfied to be
 " a great obstruction to the Reformation of Reli-
 " gion; and the two Houses of Parliament had dis-
 " covered a sufficient aversion from that Govern-
 " ment, by having passed a Bill for their utter abo-
 " lition, and in the place thereof to erect such a
 " Government, as should be most agreeable to God's
 " Word, which they doubted not would be their
 " own Presbytery; and that the People being cemen-
 " ted together by such an obligation, would never
 " be severed and disjoined by any temptation."

There was an easy consent, from the Committee of the *English*, to any expedient that might thoroughly engage the other Nation; and so a form of words were quickly agreed on between them, for a perfect combination and marriage between the Parliament and the *Scots*, in all such particulars, as were most like to be unacceptable to the King; and this form being presently communicated to the Convention of Estates, and the Assembly, as soon found an approbation and concurrence there, with as much solemnity, as was necessary to show their temper and resolution, and to gain the consent of the two Houses at *Westminster*, whither it was despatched with all imaginable celerity, and a signification " that That
 " People were in such a forwardness to advance,

BOOK VII. "that they would be in *England* as soon as they
 "could be reasonably expected." And it was indeed
 apparent enough, that, upon their discipline since
 the late Commotions, and the cunning preface and
 foresight of that People, there was nothing requisite
 to their March, but the calling them together.

Many were of opinion, that this engagement was
 proposed "rather to decline being engaged in the
 "Quarrel, than out of hope or imagination that the
 "two Houses would concur with them; for though
 "there had been a Bill passed, before the last Treaty
 "with the King, to that purpose, yet they well
 "knew that most of the Peers, and Persons of Qua-
 "lity and Interest in the other House, were willing
 "to depart from that Overture. Besides, amongst
 "those, who raged jointly against Episcopacy,
 "there were so many opinions, that it would be no
 "less difficult to establish Their Presbytery, than
 "to root out the other Government, to which they
 "intended by their Covenant equally to oblige them:
 "so that upon this Proposition, which was accor-
 "ding to the known temper of that Nation, they
 "should preserve themselves plausibly, and without
 "seeming to desert their Confederates, from bearing
 "any part in the present Troubles. However, it
 "would visibly take up so much time, that if there
 "were no Ebb in the King's prosperity and success,
 "he might well finish his work, and this Interposi-
 "tion be interpreted for a politic Stratagem to amuse
 "the *English*." But if this was their Stratagem, they
 met with People too frank-hearted, and not scrupu-
 lous to contribute towards it: for the draught of the

Covenant no sooner came to *Westminster*, but they showed a marvellous inclination to it. Yet as well because it was not yet known, what success the Earl of *Essex* would have in the relief of *Glocester*, which was like to have a shrewd influence upon Men's Affections and Consciences, as that they might seem to use all necessary deliberation, and caution, for the information of their Judgments in a new case, that concerned the Religion, and Ecclesiastical Fabric of the Kingdom, they transmitted it to their Assembly of Divines, to return Their opinion "of the lawfulness of taking it in point of Conscience."

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The Assembly, besides that it was constituted of Members who had all renounced their Obedience to their King, and submission to the Church of *England*, by their appearance and presence in that Convention, had been lately taught how dangerous it was to dissent from the current opinion of the House of Commons: for Dr. *Featly* (upon whose Reputation in Learning, they had raised great advantages to themselves) having made many Speeches in the Assembly in the behalf of "the order of Bishops, and their Function, and against the Alienation of Church-Lands, as Sacrilege," and especially inveighed against "the liberty that was taken in matter of Religion, by which so many Sects were grown up to the scandal and reproach of the Protestant Doctrine, if not of Christianity itself," had so far incurred their displeasure, and provoked their jealousy, that an ordinary fellow (so well Confirmed in Spirit, that they feared not his failing or conversion) was directed to make application to him in

B O O K cases of Conscience, and after he had gotten sufficient credit with him (which was no hard matter) to intimate to him, "that he had a sure and unquestionable conveyance to *Oxford*, or that he was to go thither himself, and if he had any occasions to use his Service thither, he would faithfully execute his Commands." The Dr. believing the Messenger to be sincere, and the King's Affairs standing then prosperous, gave him Letters for the Arch-Bishop of *Armagh*, Primate of *Ireland*, who waited on his Majesty; and by this Artifice, the same Instrument received two or three Letters from him, pretending they were still sent by infallible hands; and brought them always to those Persons by whom he was intrusted in the work of his imposture.

The Letters contained many Apologies for himself, "for being engaged in such a Congregation, to which he submitted purely out of Conscience, and for the Service of the King and Church, in hope that he might be able to prevent many extravagancies, and to contain those unruly Spirits within some bounds of regularity, and moderation;" of his endeavours that way, he gave many instances; and sent Copies of what he had said in justification of Episcopacy, the Liturgy, and the established Government, and concluded with a desire to his Grace, "to procure a good opinion from the King towards him, and some Bishopric or Deanry for his recompence." About the time that this Agitation was in *Scotland*, and very little before this Covenant was transmitted, these Letters were produced, and a charge against that Doctor,

" for betraying the trust reposed in him, and adhering to the Enemy ; " and thereupon the poor Man was expelled the Assembly of Divines, both his Livings (for he had two within a very small distance of *London*) sequestered; his Study of Books and Estate seized, and himself committed to a Common Goal, where he continued to his death; which befel him the sooner, through the extreme wants he underwent; so solicitous was that Party to remove any impediment that troubled them, and so implacable to any who were weary of their Journey, though they had accompanied them very far in their way.

This fresh example the *Assembly of Godly and Learned Divines*, had before their Eyes when this Covenant was sent to them for their consideration, and speedy resolution; and according to the haste it required, that Clergy returned within two days their full approbation of it; there having been but two Ministers who made any pause or scruple of it, and they again soon confessing " they had received full " satisfaction to their doubts in the Debate, and " that they were fully convinced of the Lawfulness, " and Piety of it." Having received so absolute an approbation and concurrence, and the Battle of *Newbury* being in that time likewise over (which cleared and removed more doubts, than the Assembly had done) it stuck very few hours with both Houses; but being at once judged Convenient, and Lawful, the Lords and Commons, and their Assembly of Divines, met together at the Church, with great solemnity, to take it, on the five - and -

It is taken and
Subscribed by
the Lords and
Commons and

B O O K twentieth day of *September*; a double Holyday,
VII. by the Earl of *Essex's* return to *London*, and this
 their Assembly Religious exercise.
 of Divines,
 Sept. 25.

There, two or three of their Divines went up into the Pulpit successively, not to Preach, but to Pray; others, according to their several Gifts, to make Orations upon the work of the day. They were by them told, "that this Oath was Such, and
 " in the matter and consequence of it, of such
 " concernment, as it was truly worthy of them,
 " *Yea* of those Kingdoms, *Yea* of all the King-
 " doms of the World: That it could be no
 " other, but the result and answer of such prayers
 " and tears, of such sincerity and sufferings,
 " that three Kingdoms should be thus Born, or
 " rather New born in a day: That they were
 " entering upon a work of the greatest moment and
 " concernment to themselves, and to their Posterities
 " after them, that ever was undertaken by any of
 " Them, or any of their fore-Fathers before them.
 " That it was a duty of the first Commandment,
 " and therefore of the highest and noblest order and
 " rank of duties; therefore must come forth attended
 " with choicest graces, fear, humility, and in the
 " greatest simplicity, and plainness of Spirit, and
 " respect of those with whom they Covenanted.
 " That it was to advance the Kingdom of Christ
 " here upon Earth, and make *Jerusalem* once more
 " the praise of the whole Earth, notwithstanding
 " all the contradictions of Men;" with many such
 high expressions, as can hardly be conceived,
 without

without the view of the Records, and Registry BOOK
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that is kept of them.

It will be here most necessary, that Posterity may be informed of the rare conclusion, in which two Nations, with such wonderful unanimity, did agree, and which was calculated also for the Meridian of a third Kingdom (for *Ireland* is likewise comprehended in it) to insert this League and Covenant in the precise terms in which it was received, and entered into; which was in these words.

A Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation, and Defence of Religion, the Honor and Happiness of the King; and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

“ We Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, A Copy of the
Covenant.
“ Citizens, Burgeesses, Ministers of the Gospel,
“ and Commons of all Sorts in the Kingdoms of *Eng-
“ land, Scotland, and Ireland*, by the Providence
“ of God living under one King, and being of one
“ Reformed Religion, having before our Eyes the
“ Glory of God, and the advancement of the King-
“ dom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the
“ Honor and Happiness of the King’s Majesty, and
“ his Posterity, and the true public Liberty, Safety,
“ and Peace of the Kingdoms, wherein every one’s
“ private condition is included; and calling to mind
“ the treacherous, and bloody Plots, Conspiracies,
“ Attempts, and Practices of the Enemies of God,
“ against the true Religion, and Professors thereof,
“ in all places, especially in these three Kingdoms,
“ ever since the Reformation of Religion, and how
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“ much their Rage, Power, and Presumption, are
 “ of late, and at this time, increased and exercised
 “ (whereof the deplorable Estate of the Church and
 “ Kingdom of *Ireland*, the distressed Estate of the
 “ Church and Kingdom of *England*, and the dange-
 “ rous Estate of the Church and Kingdom of *Scot-*
 “ *land*, are present, and public Testimonies) We
 “ have now at last (after other means of Supplication,
 “ Remonstrance, Protestations, and Sufferings)
 “ for the preservation of our Selves and our Religion
 “ from utter ruin and destruction, according to the
 “ commendable practice of these Kingdoms in for-
 “ mer times, and the example of God’s People in
 “ other Nations, after mature deliberation, resolved,
 “ and determined to enter into a mutual, and solemn
 “ League and Covenant, wherein We all Subscribe
 “ and each one of Us for himself, with our hands
 “ lifted up to the most high God, do swear,
 1. “ That We shall sincerely, really, and con-
 “ stantly, through the Grace of God, endeavour in
 “ our several places and callings the preservation of
 “ the Reformed Religion in the Church of *Scotland*,
 “ in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Govern-
 “ ment, against our Common Enemies; the Refor-
 “ mation of Religion in the Kingdoms of *England*,
 “ and *Ireland*, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline,
 “ and Government, according to the Word of God,
 “ and the example of the best Reformed Churches;
 “ and We shall endeavour to bring the Churches of
 “ God in the three Kingdoms, to the nearest Con-
 “ junction and Uniformity in Religion, Confession
 “ of Faith, Form of Church-Government, Direc-

“ tory for Worship, and Catechising; that we,
 “ and our Posterity after Us, may, as Brethren,
 “ live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight
 “ to dwell in the midst of Us.

2. “ That We shall, in like manner, without res-
 “ pect of Persons, endeavour the extirpation of
 “ Popery, Prelacy (that is Church-Government
 “ by Arch-Bishops, Bishops, their Chancellors,
 “ and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters,
 “ Arch-Deacons, and all other Ecclesiastical Officers
 “ depending on that Hierarchy) Superstition, He-
 “ resy, Schism, Prophaneness, and whatsoever
 “ shall be found to be contrary to sound Doctrine,
 “ and the power of Godliness; lest We partake in
 “ other Men’s Sins, and thereby be in danger to
 “ receive of Their Plagues; and that the Lord may
 “ be One, and his Name One in the three Kingdoms.

3. “ We shall, with the same sincerity, reality,
 “ and constancy, in our several Vocations, endea-
 “ vour with our Estates, and Lives, mutually to
 “ preserve the Rights and Privileges of the Parlia-
 “ ments, and the Liberties of the Kingdoms, and to
 “ preserve, and defend the King’s Majesty’s Person,
 “ and Authority, in the preservation and defence
 “ of the true Religion, and Liberties of the King-
 “ doms; that the World may bear Witness, with
 “ our Consciences, of our Loyalty; and that we
 “ have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his
 “ Majesty’s just power, and greatness.

4. “ We shall also, with all faithfulness, endeavour
 “ the discovery of all such as have been, or shall be
 “ Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Instruments,

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“ by hindering the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from his People, or one of the Kingdoms from another, or making any Factions or Parties among the People, contrary to this League and Covenant; that they may be brought to public Trial, and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their Offences shall require or deserve; or the supreme Judicatories of both Kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

5. “ And whereas the happiness of a blessed Peace between these Kingdoms, denied in former times to our Progenitors, is by the good Providence of God granted unto Us, and hath been lately concluded and settled by both Parliaments, we shall, each one of Us, according to our places and interest, endeavour, that they may remain conjoined in a firm Peace and Union to all Posterity, and that justice may be done upon the wilful Opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent Articles.

6. “ We shall also, according to our places and callings, in this Common Cause of Religion, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into this League and Covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof; and shall not suffer ourselves, directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion, or terror, to be divided, and withdrawn from this blessed Union and Conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give ourselves to a detestable Indifference or Neutrality

“ in this Cause, which so much concerneth the
“ Glory of God, the Good of the Kingdoms, and
“ the Honor of the King; but shall, all the days of
“ our lives, zealously and constantly continue there-
“ in, against all opposition, and promote the same
“ according to our power, against all Lets and Im-
“ pediments whatsoever. And what We are not able
“ ourselves to suppress, or overcome, We shall
“ reveal, and make known, that it may be timely
“ prevented or removed; all which We shall do as
“ in the sight of God.

“ And because these Kingdoms are guilty of many
“ Sins, and Provocations against God, and his
“ Son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present
“ distresses and dangers, the fruits thereof; We
“ profess and declare, before God, and the world,
“ our unfeigned desire to be humbled for our own
“ Sins, and for the Sins of these Kingdoms; espe-
“ cially, that We have not, as we ought, valued
“ the inestimable benefit of the Gospel, that We
“ have not labored for the purity, and power there-
“ of; and that We have not endeavoured to receive
“ Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in
“ our lives, which are the causes of other Sins and
“ Transgressions so much abounding amongst Us:
“ And our true, and unfeigned purpose, desire,
“ and endeavour for ourselves, and all others under
“ our power and charge, both in public and in pri-
“ vate, in all duties We owe to God and Man, to
“ amend our lives, and each one to go before another
“ in the example of a real Reformation; that the
“ Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indigna-

BOOK VII. "tion, and establish these Churches and Kingdoms
 "in Truth and Peace. And this Covenant We make
 "in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of
 "all hearts, with a true intention to perform the
 "same, as we shall Answer at that great day, when
 "the Secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed; most
 "humbly beseeching the Lord, to strengthen Us
 "by his holy Spirit, for this end; and to bless our
 "desires, and proceedings, with such success, as
 "may be a deliverance and safety to his People, and
 "encouragement to other Christian Churches,
 "groaning under, or in danger of the Yoke of Anti-
 "Christian Tyranny, to join in the same, or like
 "Association and Covenant, to the Glory of God,
 "the Enlargement of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ,
 "and the Peace, and Tranquillity of Christian
 "Kingdoms and Commonwealths.

As soon as this solemnity was over, which was concluded by Mr. *Henderson* (the sole Ecclesiastical Commissioner from the Kingdom of *Scotland*) who magnified what they had done, and assured them
 "of great success after it, by the experience of that
 "Nation, who, from their Union in their first Co-
 "venant, found nothing hard they proposed to
 "themselves;" and told them, "that were that Cove-
 "nant now painted upon the Wall within the Pope's
 "Palace, it would doubtless put him into *Belshaz-*
 "zar's quaking condition; the Speaker and Com-
 "mons (having first set their hands to the Covenant,
 "after they had taken it) returned to their House,
 "and observing, that many of their Members were
 "that day absent, the cause whereof was easy to be

guessed, they ordered, "that, as soon as they came B O O K
 " into the House, the Covenant should be tendered VII.
 " to them, and whosoever refused to take it, should
 " be proceeded against, as a disaffected Person, in
 " such manner as the House should think fit.

They farther made a special Order, "that all the The Covenant
 " Ministers of Parish Churches within *London*, and ordered to be
 " *Westminster*, the Suburbs, and the whole line of taken by
 " Communication, should read and explain the others, espe-
 " Covenant to their several Congregations, and stir cially by the
 " them up, the next Fast-day, to the cheerful taking City.
 " of it: and particular care was taken, that all the
 " Students of the Inns of Court should be persuaded
 " to receive it." But over and above these general
 directions, there was a particular ceremony, and
 application to recommend this Covenant to the City,
 and Corporation of *London*, and another use to be
 made of it. The Covenant was not only to bring,
 but to keep Men together; and the taking it had only
 inclined the *Scots* to march to their Assistance; they
 were to have one hundred thousand pounds Advan-
 ced to them, and paid at *Edinburgh*, before they
 could stir; and how to advance this great Sum, was
 not easy to resolve. All their Ordinances for levying
 of Money were expired; their Issues and Disburse-
 ments so vast, that no income was sufficient; their
 Exchequer was exhausted, and even their Public
 Faith Bankrupt: such Anticipations upon all kind
 of receipts, for Monies borrowed, and already spent
 that they had no Capital for future Security.

The Judicature of the House of Peers (though
 their Number was but ten, for there was no more at

the Sentence of Justice *Berkeley*) had helped them all
 they could. Justice *Berkeley*, who had been committed
 by them to the Tower, shortly after the beginning
 of the Parliament, upon a Charge of High-
 Treason, and since the beginning of the War, per-
 mitted to sit as sole Judge in the King's Bench, one
 whole Term, was now brought to Judgment; and
 by their Lordships fined the Sum of twenty thousand
 pounds, and made incapable of any place of Judica-
 ture; and upon abatement of half, and his Liberty,
 he paid the other ten thousand pounds together, to
 those Persons they appointed to receive it; which,
 since all fines are due to the King alone, and cannot
 be disposed but by him, many thought a greater
 crime than that for which he was sentenced. Baron
Trevor, who was fined for the same Offence, and
 suffered still to continue the same Office, in which
 he had committed his misdemeanour, yielded them
 as much more. But these petty Sums were disposed
 before they were received, and were but small drops
 to quench the great drought they sustained: so that
 the reputation and security of this Covenant, was,
 amongst other Uses, to bring in Money too.

To that purpose, a Committee of Lords and Com-
 mons, with some of their Divines of the Assembly,
 was sent to the *Guild-Hall*, where the Mayor had
 called a Common-Council for their reception, to re-
 commend to them, "the wonderful advantage and
 " strength their Party should gain by taking, and
 " being united in this Covenant, and the desperate
 " condition they were like to be in without it: If
 " the *Scots* came not to their Assistance, which,

“ without this obligation, they could not do, they
“ were in danger to be overwhelmed by the Enemy;
“ or at least to make a disadvantageous and disho-
“ norable Peace with them; which yet they could
“ not tell how it would be observed and kept. On
“ the other hand, by this famous accession of strength
“ of a whole Nation, they should undoubtedly be
“ able to master the War, and to make those who
“ had been the Causers of it, defray the Charge;
“ and so all the Public debts being discharged out of
“ the Estates of Delinquents and Malignants, the
“ Kingdom would not be at all impoverished, and
“ the Peace, which should hereafter be made with
“ the King, would be sure to be inviolably observed
“ by the strength of this Union; and therefore that
“ it could not be purchased at too dear a rate.
“ It was,” they said, “ neither Covetousness, nor
“ want of Affection, and Zeal to their Relief, that
“ the *Scots*, who took Their Cause to heart as their
“ own, desired an Advance of Money before they
“ drew their Army into *England*, but pure Necessity,
“ and the Poverty of that Kingdom, already ex-
“ hausted by their late expeditions, and keeping their
“ Soldiers together for the good of This. And if
“ there had been Money enough in that Country to
“ have been procured upon the public Stock and
“ Revenue, or the Mortgage of private Estates, to
“ which all Men were forward for the Public Good,
“ their Love to their Brethren here was such, that
“ they would neither have asked, nor received Mo-
“ ney for their Assistance, after it had proved effec-
“ tual; much less, before the yielding it. For Evi-

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B O O K VII. " dence of which frank and Brotherly Inclination, " they freely offered the Engagement of their own " Estates, for the repayment of the Money that " should be advanced:" which was the first time, that ever Land in *Scotland* had been offered for security of Money borrowed in the City of *London*. In the end, they very devoutly extolled the Covenant, magnified the *Scottish* Nation, with all imaginable Attributes of Esteem and Reverence, " a Nation that " had engaged itself to God in a higher way, in a " more extraordinary way, than any Nation this day " upon the face of the Earth had done; a Nation, " that had reformed their lives for so small a time, " more than ever any People, that they knew of, " in the world had done; a Nation, that God had " honored by giving as glorious Success unto, as " ever he did unto any:" and very earnestly desired the Loan of a hundred thousand Pounds. The Rhetoric and the Zeal prevailed; and hundred thousand pounds was promised, and shortly provided, and sent to *Edinburgh*; and the Assurance of the *Scots* coming so full, that they were looked upon as Masters of *New-Castle* already. With such an alacrity all these things were transacted.

That Violent Party in the Parliament, which never intended any Peace with the King, and had more desperate Mutations in their purposes, than they avowed, even amongst those who concurred with them in all they desired, did not think themselves secure in the Affection of the People, nor in those who had the greatest Trust in their Affairs. They had seen the great Changes in the Houses, in the

City, and in the Country, upon their late ill Successes, the Defeat of *Waller*, and the loss of *Bristol*: and though the Earl of *Essex* still adhered to them, yet they saw he was not pleased, nor favored one of those Men upon whom they most depended; but, on the contrary, all who were countenanced by Him, or in His confidence, were Men of such Principles as they liked not, or who desired no other Alterations, in the Court or Government, but only of the Persons who Acted in it: therefore they had taken an opportunity, in the greatest dejection of Spirit, and when they looked upon themselves as near swallowed up by the King's Power, to move “ that they might send into *Scotland* to their Brethren
“ there, to join with them, and to assist them with
“ an Army, that they might, by such a Conjunction,
“ have a Support, to make them so considerable,
“ as to be Treated with, and to receive Conditions
“ which might preserve them from ruin:” which Proposition, being for so Common an Interest and Benefit, had received a General concurrence; and so that Committee of both Houses had been sent into *Scotland*, to put them in mind “ of their joint concernment, and how impossible it would be, for
“ the *Scots* long to enjoy the great Concessions they
“ had obtained from the King, when the Parliament
“ of *England*, by whose Friendship, Power, and
“ Authority they had obtained them, should be oppressed, and forced to yield to such Conditions for
“ their particular preservation, as the King would
“ think fit to give them.” But they were not a little startled, when they found this Message had obliged

B O O K VII. them to a present expence of a hundred thousand pounds, before there was any visible Relief given them; and saw themselves involved in new obligations of Guilt, and to purposes they really never intended.

There hath been scarce any thing more wonderful throughout the Progress of these Distractions, than that this Covenant did with such extraordinary expedition, pass the two Houses, when all the Leading Persons in those Councils, were at the same time known to be as great Enemies to Presbytery (the Establishment whereof was the main end of this Covenant) as they were to the King or the Church. And He who contributed most to it, and, in truth, was the Principal Contriver of it, and the Man by whom the Committee in *Scotland* was entirely, and stupidly governed, Sir *Harry Vane* the Younger, was not afterwards more known to abhor the Covenant, and the Presbyterians, than he was at that very time known to do, and laughed at them then, as much as ever he did afterwards.

He was indeed a Man of extraordinary Parts, a pleasant Wit, a great Understanding, which pierced into, and discerned the purposes of other Men with wonderful Sagacity, whilst he had Himself *vultum clausum*, that no Man could make a guess of what he intended. He was of a Temper not to be moved, and of rare dissimulation, and could comply when it was not seasonable to contradict, without losing ground by the condescension; and if he were not superior to Mr. *Hambden*, he was inferior to no other Man, in all mysterious Artifices. There need no

more be said of his Ability, than that he was chosen to cozen, and deceive a whole Nation which was thought to excel in craft and cunning: which he did with notable pregnancy and dexterity, and prevailed with a People, that could not otherwise be prevailed upon than by advancing their Idol Presbytery, to sacrifice their Peace, their Interest, and their Faith, to the erecting a Power and Authority that resolved to persecute Presbytery to an Extirpation; and, in process of time, very near brought their purpose to pass.

The Nation of *Scotland*, in general; had been so fully satisfied in all that they could pretend to desire, that they were very well disposed to be Spectators of what was done in *England*, without engaging themselves in the Quarrel; and though there were some powerful Men amongst them, whose Guilt would not suffer them to believe that they could be otherwise secure, than by the King's want of Power to call them to Justice, yet their Number was not thought so great, as to be able to corrupt the People into a bare-faced Act of Rebellion: nor had they any such face of Authority, as to invite them to it. Without a Parliament, they could not propose it; the King had absolutely refused to call a Parliament, and it was yet above a Year to come, before a Parliament could be Assembled without the King's Consent; and in that time, the King might have the better of his Enemies. However, the Commissioners of the Parliament had not been long at *Edinburgh*, before they prevailed with the Council to call a Parliament; which Duke *Hamilton*, and others, who

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pretended great devotion to the King, and were of the Council, had promised the King to oppose, and said "they were powerful enough to prevent it." When it came to the point, Duke *Hamilton*, being one way or other, persuaded himself, persuaded others, "that the absolute refusal to suffer a Parliament to be called, would not quiet the Debate, nor secure the King, but more enflame those who desired it; who would take some other time, when many of them who opposed it should be absent, to propose it; and so would carry it: and that therefore they were better be absent at first, whereby the others might, without opposition, send out their Summons for a Parliament to Assemble, at the day they thought fit; and that, as they who would serve the King would not be there, so they should prevail with as many others as they could, not to be there likewise; whereby the number which appeared, would be so inconsiderable, that they would not dare to sit, but perfectly disperse; and this disappointment would for ever quash that design, and render those who advised it, odious to the People; as Men who desired illegally to engage the Nation in unjustifiable ways, to disturb the public Peace."

A Parliament
Summoned by
the Covenant-
ers in Scot-
land.

A Summons was accordingly sent out to call a Parliament, to meet at a day appointed; before which time, those of the Nobility and Gentry, who did really desire to serve the King, applied themselves to Duke *Hamilton* (whose advice and orders, the King himself had required them to observe; unhappily still believing him to be faithful) to know what they

should do: many of the principal of them declaring their opinions to him, "that they should take an opportunity to meet together, and bring their Friends with them, whereby they might make a good Body of Horse, and so, with their Arms in their hands, they would declare against the Legality of that Parliament, and the meeting in it:" and named a fit opportunity to him for such a meeting at the Funeral of a Lady, which was to be within some days, when, according to the custom of that People, great Numbers of Persons of Quality use to Assemble, to do Honor to the dead in the last obsequies. He told them, "he believed, it must come shortly to that remedy, but conceived it not yet time, and that such a meeting would frighten the People, and increase the Number in Parliament, and make many resort to them for their directions." He likewise said, "he had changed his former opinion, concerning their own being absent at that time of the meeting of the Parliament, since their mere absence would not be discountenance enough, and that they who sat, would carry the Reputation of a Parliament, and the People would be guided by them, if there were nothing but their absence to work upon their inclinations, and affections."

He proposed therefore to them, "that they would all resolve to be present, and take their places; and that, when the House should be sat, and any Man should stand up to propose the taking any business into consideration, [the Duke] would first make his Protestation against proceeding in so illegal a

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“ Convention, and then They should all make the same Protestation; and he did hope, that the Number of the Protesters would be great enough to dissolve the meeting; and thus they should put the best end to the matter that could be desired: but if it should succeed otherwise, then would be the time to withdraw and put themselves in Arms; towards which he would make the best preparation he could; and desired Them to do the like.” The Earl of *Kinoul*, and some others, made exception against this Expedient, and pressed the former meeting at the Funeral, till the Duke told them, “ the King liked the other way better;” and pulled a Letter out of his Pocket, which he had received from his Majesty, and read them so much of it, as contained his Approbation, “ that they should meet in the Parliament;” in which determination they could not but acquiesce, though they thought at the same time, that his Majesty was betrayed.

The Parliament met at the day; and Duke *Hamilton*, according to his promise, took an opportunity to say somewhat that seemed to imply a Protestation against the meeting; upon which, many of the Lords, who had been always most engaged against the King, were very warm; and demanded, “ that he should declare himself clearly, whether he did Protest against the Parliament;” whereupon his Brother the Earl of *Lanrick*, who was Secretary of State to the King, stood up, and said, “ that he hoped, that Noble Lord’s Affection to his Country was better known, than that any Man could imagine he would Protest against the Parliament of the Kingdom;”

“ Kingdom;” and then the Duke explained, and excused himself; and said, “ he meant no such thing: “ and so they declared, they would Treat with the “ Commissioners, who were sent from the Parlia- “ ment of *England*,” and appointed Commissioners for that purpose. BOOK
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Some are of opinion, that, even at this time, they did not intend to engage in the War against the King; but that, as a few Men cozened the Parliament at *Westminster*, by persuading them, “ that they desired “ only a Safe Peace, till, by multiplication of Indig- ties, they made it impossible to make of Peace that would appear safe; so there was as small a Number in *Scotland*, that over-reached the Parliament there, by persuading, “ that they never intended to do any “ thing against the King, but that it would be too “ ungrateful a thing, and render them very odious “ to the whole *English* Nation, if, after they had “ received so many obligations from the Parlia- “ ment there, to whose protection they owed their “ Religion, and all that they enjoyed, they should “ refuse so much as to Treat with them, and to assist “ them. by their interposition, to procure a good “ Peace for them with the King; which would be a “ great Honor to them; and would be as great an “ obligation to his Majesty, as to the Parliament.” That this was all that was in their thoughts; and that they would avoid any Engagement in a War, not by rejecting the Proposition, but by making such demands, as they knew well would never be accepted by the Parliament at *Westminster*. Thereupon they told the Commissioners from that Parliament, “ that it

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" would be impossible to engage their Nation in a joint concurrence with them , against the King, but by the Influence and Authority of their Kirk ; and that it would be as impossible to procure the Consent of their Kirk, except by making it evident to them, that the Government of the Church in *England*, should be reduced to the same model with *Theirs in Scotland*; and that Episcopacy should be totally extirpated ; and that Deans and Chapters, should be utterly abolished ;" without which, they said, " they could never think their own Government securely established ; but if such a promise might be solemnly made , their Kirk would be thoroughly engaged, and the Nation , to a Man, would enter into the Quarrel."

Sir *Harry Vane* was not surpris'd with the Proposition, which he had long foreseen, and came resolv'd to pay their own price for their Friendship. Thereupon , as hath been already said , the Covenant was prepared, and other Propositions made for the present furnishing a great Sum of Money , to enable them to begin their Levies ; and many other extravagant Conditions propos'd on the *Scottish* part, for the payment of the Army, and other vast expenses, that they did not believe the Commissioners would yield , or that the Parliament would perform, if they were yielded unto. Nothing of Money , or Honor , made any delay ; and they came provided with some Letters of Credit, that as little time might be lost as was possible, in making all necessary preparations. The Covenant was the matter of Difficulty; they knowing well, that many of their greatest Friends, both in the

Parliament, and the Army, had not any mind to change the Government of the Church; to which the People of *England* were not generally disaffected.

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Sir *Henry Vane* therefore (who equally hated Episcopacy and Presbytery, safe that he wished the one Abolished with much impatience, believing it much easier to keep the other from being Established, whatever they promised, than to be rid of that which was settled in the Kingdom) carefully considered the Covenant, and after he had altered, and changed many expressions in it, and made them doubtful enough to bear many interpretations, he, and his fellow - Commissioners, signed the whole Treaty; whereby it was provided, " that the Covenant " should be taken throughout all his Majesty's Dominions; that a Committee of the Scots should always sit with the Close Committee at *Westminster* for the carrying on of the War, with equal Authority; that there should be no Treaty of Peace with the King, without the joint consent of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms; " and many other particulars, very derogatory to the Honour of the *English* Nation; and with all possible expedition sent it to the Close Committee at *Westminster*; in the time of their consternation, and before the relief of *Glocester*; which transmitted it presently back to them, allowed and confirmed.

The substance of the Treaty between the English Commissioners and the Scots.

And thereupon the Parliament at *Edinburgh*, resolved to raise a great Army, and to invade *England*; and their old General *Lesley*, who had so solemnly promised the King, not only " never to bear Arms against him; but to Serve him, let the Cause

The Scots raise an Army under Lesley.

B O O K VII. " be what it would," without any hesitation undertook the Command of it. All this time, Duke *Hamilton* looked on, and sometimes sat with them; and when the first Proclamation was prepared, in the King's Name, for a General Rendezvous of all Men, from such an Age to such an Age, at such a time and place, that so their Army might be presently formed, the Earl of *Lanrick* put the King's Signet, with the keeping whereof he was trusted, to the said Proclamation: and all this being done, both the Brothers left *Scotland*, to give the King an Account at *Oxford* of all the Proceedings: Many of the Nobility of that Kingdom, who did heartily wish well to the King, being gone from thence; after the first day's meeting of their Parliament (when the Duke had broken his promise to them) and informed his Majesty at large of that which They thought foul Infidelity.

Divisions
amongst the
Councils at
Oxford.

The Discomposures, Jealousies, and Disgusts, which reigned at *Oxford*, produced great Inconveniences; and as, many times, Men in a Scuffle lose their Weapons, and light upon those which belonged to their Adversaries, who again Arm themselves with those which belonged to the others, such, one would have thought, had been the Fortune of the King's Army in the Encounters with the Enemies: for those under the King's Commanders grew insensibly into all the Licence, Disorder, and Impiety, with which they had reproached the Rebels; and They, into great Discipline, Diligence, and Sobriety; which begot Courage and Resolution in them, and notable dexterity in Achievements and

Enterprifes. Infomuch as one fide feemed to Fight for Monarchy, with the Weapons of Confufion, and the other to deftroy the King and Government, with all the Principles and Regularity of Monarchy.

In the beginning of the Troubles, the King had very prudently refolved with himfelf, to confer no Honors, or beftow any Offices or Preferments upon any, till the end and conclufion of the Service; and if that Refolution had continued, He would have found much eafe by it, and his Service great Advantage. The Neceffity and Exigents of the War, fhortly after, made fome breach into this feafonable refolution, and, for ready Money to carry on the War, his Majefty was compelled, againft his Nature, to difpenfe fome favors, which he would not willingly have fuffered to be purchafed, but by Virtue and high Merit. Then all Men thought Money and Money-worth to be all one; and that whofoever, by his Service, had deferved a Reward of Money, had deferved any thing that might be had for Money. And when it was apparent, that the War was like to prove a bufinefs of time, it was thought unreafonable, that the King fhould not confer rewards on Some, which he was able to do, becaufe he could not do it on All, which was confefledly out of his power. And fo, by importunity, and upon the Title of old Promifes, and fome conveniences of his Service, he beftowed Honors upon fome principal Officers of his Army, and Offices upon others; to which, though, in the particulars, no juft exceptions could be taken, yet many were Angry, to fee fome preferred, and not fo much extolling their

BOOK VII. own merit and service, as making it equal to those whom they saw advanced, every Man thought himself neglected and slighted, in that another was better esteemed.

And this Poison of Envy wrought upon many Natures, which had skill enough not to confess it: The Soldiers, albeit they were emulous amongst themselves, and very unsatisfied with one another (there being unhappy Animosities amongst the Principal Officers) yet they were too well united, and reconciled against any other Body of Men; and thinking the King's Crown depended wholly on the fortune of Their Swords, believed no other Persons to be considerable, and no Councils fit to be consulted with, but the Martial; and thence proceeded a fatal disrespect and irreverence to the Council of State, to which, by the wholesome Constitution of the Kingdom, the Militia, Garrisons, and all Martial power is purely, and naturally Subordinate; and by the Authority, and prudence whereof, Provision could be only reasonably expected, for the countenance and support of the Army.

The General, and Prince *Rupert*, were both Strangers to the Government and Custom of the Kingdom, and utterly unacquainted with the Nobility, and the King's Ministers, or with their Rights: and the Prince's heart was so wholly set upon Actions of War, that he not only neglected, but too much contemned the peaceable and civil Arts, which were most necessary even to the carrying on of the other. And certainly, somewhat like that which *Plutarch* says of the Roman Auguries, "that *Octavius* lost

“ his Life by trusting to them, and that *Marius* prof-
 “ pered the better, because he did not altogether
 “ despise them, may be said of Popularity :” though
 he that too immoderately, and importunately affects
 it (which was the case of the Earl of *Essex*) will
 hardly continue innocent ; yet he who too affectedly
 despises, or neglects what is said of him, or what is
 generally thought of Persons, or Things, and too
 Stoically contemns the Affections of Men, even of
 Vulgar (be his other Abilities and Virtues as great
 as can be imagined) will, in some conjuncture of
 time, find himself very unfortunate. And it may be,
 a better reason cannot be assigned for the misfortunes
 that hopeful young Prince (who had great parts of
 mind, as well as Vigor of Body, and an incom-
 parable personal Courage) underwent, and the King-
 dom thereby, than that unpolished roughness of his
 Nature ; which rendered him less patient to hear,
 and consequently less skilful to judge of those things,
 which should have guided him in the discharge of
 his important Trust : and making an unskilful judge-
 ment of the unusefulness of the Councils, by his ob-
 servation of the infirmities and weakness of some
 particular Counsellors, he grew to a full disesteem
 of the Acts of that Board ; which must ever be re-
 spected, as long as the Regal Power is exercised in
England.

I cannot but, on this occasion, continue this di-
 gression thus much farther, to observe, that they
 who avoid public Debates in Council, or think
 them of no moment, upon undervaluing the Per-
 sons of some Counsellors, and from the particular

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infirmities of the Men, the heaviness of this Man, the Levity of another, the weakness and simplicity of a third, conclude, that the advice and opinions of Many are not requisite to any great design, are exceedingly deceived; and will perniciously deceive others who are misled by those conclusions. For it is in Wisdom, as it is in Beauty, a face that, being taken in pieces, affords scarce one exact feature, an eye, or a nose, or a tooth, or a brow, or a mouth, against which a visible just exception may not be taken, yet altogether, by a gracefulness and vivacity in the whole, may constitute an excellent Beauty, and be more charming than another, whose Symmetry is more faultless; so there are many Men, who in one particular Argument, may be unskilful, in another affected, who may seem to have some Levity, and Vanity, or Formality, in ordinary and cursory Conversation (a very crooked Rule to measure any Man's Abilities, as giving a better Measure of the Humor, than of the Understanding) and yet in formed Counsels, Deliberations, and Transactions, are Men of great Insight, and Wisdom, and from whom excellent Assistance may be contributed.

No Question, all great Enterprises, and Designs, that are to be executed, have many parts, even in the projection, fit for the Survey and Disquisition of several Faculties and Abilities, equally for the decision of sharper, and more phlegmatic Understandings. And We often hear, in Debates of great Moment, Animadversions of more weight, and consequence, from those whose ordinary conversation may not be so delightful, than from Men of more

sublime parts. Certainly *Solomon* well understood himself, when he said. *In the Multitude of Counsellors there is safety.* And though it be confessed, that reason would be better discovered, and stated, and right conclusions easier made by a few, than by a greater Number, yet when the Execution depends on many, and the general interpretation so much depends on the Success, and the Success on the Interpretation, We see those Counsels usually most prosperous, whereof the considerations, and deliberations, have been measured by that Standard which is most publicly acknowledged, and received. He has had but small Experience in the managing Affairs, who is not able experimentally to name to himself, some very good and useful conclusions, which have therefore only miscarried, because they were not communicated to those, who thought they had reason to believe themselves competent parties to the Secret. There was seldom ever yet that public-heartedness sunk into the breasts of Men, as to be long willing to be left out in those transactions, to the privacy whereof they had a right: And therefore Men have been often willing enough, any single Advice should miscarry, of whatsoever general Concernment, rather than contribute to the fame of some One man, who has thought Their Approbation not worth the providing for. And though the Advantage of secrecy and despatch, seems to favor a small Number of Counsellors, yet (except in some few cases, which in their own Nature are to be both consulted, and acted together, and the full Execution whereof may be by a few) I am not sure that the inconveniency

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B O O K will be greater by the necessary delays, occasioned
VII. by the Number, or even by such a discovery, as may be supposed to proceed from the Levity of any of them, than by wanting the Approbation, and Concurrence of those, who will unavoidably know it soon enough to add to, or take from the Success, at least the Reputation, of any public business. Much of the Negligence, and Disrespect towards the Civil Councils, proceeded from these unhappy Causes. For as all Corporations, Tribes, and Fraternities, suffer most by the malignity of some of their own Members; so the Jealousy, and Indisposition of some Counsellors, contributed much to the disregard which fell upon the Order; and in Them, upon the King.

Among those who were next the King's Trust, and to whom he communicated the greatest Secrets in his Affairs, there were some, who from private, though very good, conditions of life, without such an application to Court as usually ushered in those promotions, were ascended to that preferment; and were believed to have an equal Interest with any, in their Master's estimation. These were sure to find no more Charity from the Court, than from the Army; and they having had lately so many equals it was thought no presumption, freely to censure all they did, or spoke; what effect soever such freedom had upon the public Policy and Transactions. It were to be wished, that Persons of the greatest Birth, Honor, and Fortune, would take that care of themselves by Education, Industry, Literature, and a love of Virtue, to surpass all other Men in Know-

ledge, and all other Qualifications, necessary for great Actions, as far as they do in Quality and Titles; that Princes, out of Them, might always chuse Men fit for all Employments, and high Trusts; which would exceedingly advance their Service; when the reputation and respect of the Person carries somewhat with it, that facilitates the business. And it cannot easily be expressed, nor comprehended by any who have not felt the weight, and burden of the Envy, which naturally attends upon those promotions, which seem to be *per Saltum*, how great straits and difficulties such Ministers are forced to wrestle with, and by which the Charges, with which they are intrusted, must proportionably suffer, let the Integrity and Wisdom of the Men, be what it can be supposed to be. Neither is the patience, and dexterity, to carry a Man through those straits, easily attained; it being very hard, in the morning of preferment, to keep an even temper of mind, between the care to preserve the dignity of the place committed to him (without which he shall expose himself to a thousand rude attempts, and dishonor the judgment that promoted him, by appearing too mean for such a Trust) and between the caution, that his Nature be not really exalted to an overweening pride and folly, upon the privilege of his great place; which will expose him to much more contempt, than the former; and therefore is, with a more exact Guard, to be avoided: the Errors of gentleness and civility, being much more easily reformed as well as endured, than the other of arrogance and ostentation.

The best provision that such Men can make for

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their Voyage, besides a lasting stock of Innocency, and a firm Confidence in God Almighty, that he will never suffer that Innocency to be utterly oppressed, or notoriously defamed, is, an expectation of those Gusts and Storms of Rumor, Detraction, and Envy; and a Resolution not to be over-sensible of all Calumnies, Unkindness, or Injustice; but to believe, that, by being Preferred before other Men, they have an obligation upon them, to suffer more than other Men would do; and that the best way to convince Scandals, and Misreports, is, by neglecting them, to appear not to have deserved them. There is not a more troublesome passion, or that often draws more inconveniences with it, than that which proceeds from the indignation of being unjustly calumniated, and from the pride of an upright Conscience; when Men cannot endure to be spoken ill of, if they have not deserved it: in which distemper, though they should free themselves from the Errors, or Infirmities, with which they were traduced, they commonly discover others, of which they had never been suspected. In a word, let no honest Man that is once entered into the list, think, he can by any skill, or comportment, prevent these Conflicts and Assaults; or that he can, by any stubborn or impetuous Humor, suppress, and prevail over them: but let him look upon it as Purgatory he is unavoidably to pass through, and depend upon Providence, and time, for a Vindication; and by constantly performing all the duties of his place, with Justice, Integrity, and Uprightness, give all Men

cause to believe, he was worthy of the first Honor; which is a Triumph very Lawfully to be affected. B O O K VII.

As these distempers, indispositions, and infirmities of particular Men, had a great influence upon the public Affairs, and disturbed and weakened the whole frame and fabric of the King's design; so no particular Man was more disquieted by them, than the King himself; who, in his Person, as well as in his Business, suffered all the Vexation of the rude, petulant, and discontented Humors of Court, and Army. His Majesty now paid Interest for all the benefit and advantage, he had received in the beginning of the War, by his gentleness, and Princely affability to all Men, and by descending somewhat from the forms of Majesty, which he had, in his former Life, observed with all punctuality. He vouchsafed then himself to receive any Addresses, and Overtures for his Service, and to hold discourse with all Men who brought devotion to him; and he must be now troubled with the complaints, and murmurs, and humors of all; and how frivolous, and unreasonable soever, the cause was, his Majesty was put both to inform, and temper their Understandings. No Man would receive an Answer but from himself, and expected a better from him, than he must have been contented to have received from any Body else. Every Man magnified the Service he had done, and his Ability, and Interest to do greater, and proposed Honor and Reward equal to both in his own sense. And if he received not an Answer to his mind, he grew sullen, complained, "he was neglected," and resolved, or pretended

BOOK VII. so, "to quit the Service, and to Travel into some Foreign Kingdom." He is deceived that believes the ordinary Carriage, and State of a King, to be matters of indifferency, and of no relation to his Greatness. They are the Outworks, which preserve Majesty itself from approaches and surprisal. We find that the Queen of *Sheba* was amazed at the meat of *Solomon's Table*, and the sitting of his Servants, and the attendance of his Ministers, and their Apparel, and his Cup-bearers, &c. as so great instances of *Solomon's Wisdom*, that *there was no more Spirit in her*. And no doubt, what Prince soever inconsiderately departs from those forms, and Trappings, and Ornaments of his Dignity, and Pre-eminence, will hardly, at some time, be able to preserve the body itself of Majesty, from intrusion, invasion, and violation.

And let no Man think, that the King had now no hard task to master these Troubles, and that a short and sharp blast of Royal Severity, would easily have dispersed these Clouds. The Disease was too violent and catching, and the Contagion too Universal, to be cured by that Remedy; neither were the symptoms, or effects, the same in all constitutions. It cannot be imagined, into how many several shapes Men's indispositions were put, and how many Artifices were used to get Honors, Offices, Preferments, and the waywardness and perverseness, which attended the being disappointed of their own hopes. One Man had been named for such a place, that is, Himself and his Friends had given it out, that he should have it, when, it may be, he was too modest

to pretend to it; and upon this Vogue he had a Title, and if it should be conferred upon another, it would be a mark of the King's disfavor to him; and thereby he should lose the Ability, and Credit, without which he could do no farther Service. Another suggested, that his Friends and Companions in consort, had all received some obligation, and if he alone should remain without some testimony of Favor, it would be a brand upon him of some signal unworthiness. No Man was so hard-hearted to himself, as not to be able to give a reason for any thing he desired; and He commonly had best success, who prosecuted his own wishes with most boldness, and importunity; neither was there a better, or another reason for some Men's Preferment, than that they had set their hearts upon it, and would have it. And it was a great temptation to modest Natures, to find forward Men had so good Fortune, that the want of Success begun to be imputed to want of Wit.

I remember about this time, a Person of good Quality, and of a good Name in Action, came to me very pensive, and told me, "how conscientiously he had served the King, without any private designs, or other thoughts, than the discharge of his own Duty, and rendering the performance of that Duty acceptable to his Majesty; yet that, to his unspeakable discomfort, he found, he had been misrepresented to the King, and that his Majesty had entertained a sinister opinion of him, and desired me to learn, what the ground of the prejudice was, and by my good testimony to

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BOOK VII. "endeavour to remove it." I had a very good opinion of the Person, and believed the King had so, and therefore persuaded him, that the Jealousy was groundless, and pressed to know, from whence he received those impressions; he excused himself in the particular, and assured me, "that he had his Advertisement from a sure hand, which was to be concealed and not doubted; that, upon my Inquiry, I would find it true, though he could not imagine the cause. I promised him, I would press the King very heartily in it, and if there were any thing that stuck with him, I presumed his Majesty would be so gracious to let me know it;" and accordingly, having shortly after an opportunity to wait on his Majesty, I told him the true Narrative of what had passed, with my observation of the general comportment of that Gentleman, and besought his Majesty, "if any ill Offices had been done him, or that any prejudice towards him was lodged in his Royal breast, that he would graciously vouchsafe to tell me what it was, and that he would allow him an Access, to clear himself from any imputations." The King very cheerfully assured me, "that he had not only a very good opinion of that Gentleman, but that he was most assured, he had no real suspicion to the contrary;" and therefore, bid me, "proceed to the other part of my business." I told him, "I had no more, and that I was sure, I should make a very happy Man by satisfying him of what I found." Then, said the King, "you are not thoroughly instructed, for the other half of this business must be a Suit.

I replied,

I replied, "if that were so, I was yet more ignorant than I suspected myself." The Gentleman shortly after came to me, in pain, as I thought, with the jealousy of being in Umbrage; and when I gave him pregnant Assurance to the contrary, with the mention of some Expressions the King had used, which were indeed very gracious, he seemed to receive it with such a countenance and gusto, that I verily believed he had Had his heart's desire. But, the next morning, he came to me again, and told me, "that I had made him abundantly happy; and "that he doubted not, there was no just ground "for the other reports, but only the Malice of "those who wished them true; yet, that they had "lessened his credit abroad, even with his Friends, "and that he found, there was no way to keep up "his Reputation, and Interest in the world, where- "by he might be able to do the King Service (which was all he looked after) but the receiving "some testimony of the King's good opinion, which "would be a public evidence that the other discourses were false." I was surpris'd, and as much out of countenance, as He should have been; and advised him "to patience, and to expect the King's "own time, and method, rather than to quicken "him by any importunity, which would give an ill "relish to any obligation." He would not understand that Philosophy, but shortly after found some other means to press the King very roundly for a place, upon the title of that good opinion he had declared to me to hold of him; not without some implication, "that, without some such earnest of his

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" Majesty's goodness, he should not be able to continue in his Service;" which probably was one of the modestest Addresses, which were made to him at that time. And it cannot be denied, this way the King's Trouble was so great, that he many times suffered more Vexation from the indisposition, and humors of his own People, than from the Enemy, or the apprehension of their Counsels: which hath made me enlarge this digression so much; conceiving it no less to be a part of History, and more useful to Posterity, to leave a Character of the times, than of the Persons, or the Narrative of the matters of Fact, which cannot be so well understood, as by knowing the Genius that prevailed when they were transacted.

The best Expedient his Majesty could find to dispel these fumes, was Motion and Action; and therefore, though the Season of the Year was too far spent, and too many Officers hurt, for the taking the Field again, besides that many Regiments were returned to their old Posts (as the *Welsh* to defend their own Country from the Incursions from *Glocester*, and to reduce some Towns in *Pembrokeshire*, which, lying on the Sea, by the help of the Parliament-Ships, begun to fortify, and gather strength) yet he resolved his Forces about *Oxford* should not lie still.

In the beginning of *October*, Prince *Rupert*, with a strong Party of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, marched into *Bedfordshire*, and took the Town of *Bedford*, and in it a Party of the Enemy, who used it only as a strong Quarter. This expedition was principally to countenance Sir *Lewis Dives*, whilst

he Fortified *Newport-Pannel*, where he hoped to fix a Garrison; which would have made a more direct line of communication with the Northern Parts, and restrained the Commerce between *London* and their Associated Counties; which they well understood; and therefore, upon the first News of it, the Earl of *Essex* removed his head Quarters from *Windsor* to *St. Albans*, and the Trained-bands of *London*, and their Auxiliary-Regiments, marched again to him for his Recruit; upon the advancement whereof, and a mistake of Orders from *Oxford*, Sir *Lewis Dives* drew off his Forces from *Newport-Pannel*; and the Enemy presently possessed themselves of it, and made it a very useful Garrison. Upon which, Prince *Rupert* Fortified *Tossiter*, a Town in *Northamptonshire*, and left a strong Garrison there; which, though it infested the Enemy somewhat, and took great Revenge upon those Counties which had expressed a violent Affection to the Parliament, in truth, added little strength to the King; for he lost many Horse by the labor of duty, the greatest part of the Body of his Horse being forced to Quarter near that place, for the security of the Foot, till the Works about the Town were in such a forwardness, that they needed not fear their Neighbours at *St. Albans*.

In the mean time, the power of the Parliament was least Manifest in the West, where their Party was reduced to a lowness, and confined within narrow limits after the taking of *Exeter*; the Gentlemen of that County having been generally well devoted to the King's Service, though never able safely to

The King's
Affairs in the
West.

B O O K VII. declare it, at least to appear in a posture of opposing the violence of the other Party. Prince *Maurice* found a general concurrence to advance the great work, by Levies of Money, Men, and all Offices that could be expected; insomuch as, within very few days after the Surrender of that Town, his Army of Foot, by the new Levies, contained no fewer than seven thousand Men (which was a Body the West had not before seen) besides a Body of Horse, at least proportionable to the other; and all in excellent Equipage for Action. And at the same time, Colonel *John Digby* was before *Plymouth*, with above three thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse, and had taken a work from the Enemy of great Importance, called *Mount-Stamford* in honor of that Earl during the time of his abode there, within half a mile of the Town, and which Commanded some part of the River; the loss whereof gave the Town a marvellous discouragement.

The first Error the Prince committed after the reducing of *Exeter*, was staying too long there before he Advanced; for Victorious Armies carry great Terror with them, whilst the memory and fame of the Victory is fresh. The next, that he moved not directly towards *Plymouth*, when he did move; which, in all probability, would have yielded upon his Approach: for the Town was full of distraction, and jealousy amongst themselves, as well as unprovided for the reception of an Enemy. It was a rich and populous Corporation, being, in time of Peace, the greatest Port for Trade in the West; and, except *Bristol*, then more considerable than all the rest.

There was in it a Castle very strong towards the Sea, with good Platforms and Ordnance; and little more than Musquet-shot from the Town, was an Island with a Fort in it, much stronger than the Castle; both which were, before the Troubles, under the Command of a Captain, with a Garrison of about fifty Men at the most; and were only intended for a security, and defence of the Town, against a Foreign Invasion; the Castle and the Island together, having a good Command of the entrance into the Harbour, but towards the Land there was very little strength. This Command was in the hands of Sir *Jacob Ashley*, and as unprovided to expect, or resist an Enemy, as the other Castles and Forts of the Kingdom; less for the receiving a Recruit; there being only Ordnance, and Ammunition, without any other Provisions for the support of the Soldiers within the Walls; and the Garrison itself being by time, Marriages, and Trade. Incorporated into the Town, and rather Citizens than Soldiers: So that Sir *Jacob Ashley* being sent for to the King, before his setting up his Standard, as soon as there was any apprehension of a Party for the King in *Cornwal*, after the appearing of Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and those other Gentlemen there, the Mayor, and Corporation of *Plymouth*, quickly got both the Castle and Island into their own Power.

It will be wondered at by many hereafter, that those, and the like places of Strength in *England*, being under the Command of Persons entirely of his Majesty's Nomination, were not put into a good Posture of Defence, when it grew first Evident,

B O O K VII. that there would be shortly occasion to use them ; for according to the old story in *Ælian* , that when in one of the States of *Greece* ; *Micippus's* Sheep brought forth a Lion, it was generally, and justly concluded, that That portended a Tyranny, and change of the State from a Peaceable to a Bloody Government ; so when the two Houses of Parliament first produced a Sovereign Power, to make , and alter, and suspend Laws, before they raised an Army, or made a General, or declared War ; when that mild and innocent Sheep , that Legal regular Convention of a sober and modest Council, had once brought forth that Lion which sought whom he might devour, it might be easily , and naturally concluded by all wise and sober Men, that the blessed calm , and temperate State of Government , by which every Man ate the fruit of his own Vine, was at an end ; and Rapine, Blood , and Desolation , to succeed ; and therefore that those Holds should , in reason, have been then provided for.

But I shall say here once for all , that from the time that there was any reasonable jealousy of a War, it was never in the King's Power to mend the condition of any of those places ; and if he had attempted it , with what caution or secrecy soever, the inconvenience he must have sustained by it, besides the failing of his end , would have been much greater than the Advantage which could have accrued , if he had done what he desired. I have very ill described the times We have passed through , if That be not apparent ; and that it was rather an Error of the former times , that those places needed any Supply, than that it was not applied to them in the succeeding.

The Parliament was very glad *Plymouth* was thus secured; and, as well to put an obligation upon all Corporations, by showing they thought them capable of the greatest Trusts, as because they could not, in truth, more reasonably Confide in any other, they committed the Government thereof to that Mayor; who was well enough instructed, what respect to pay to their Committee; which was appointed to reside there for his Assistance, and to conduct the Affairs in those parts. Of that Committee, Sir *Alexander Carew* was one; a Gentleman of a good Fortune in *Cornwal*, who served in Parliament as Knight for that County, and had, from the beginning of the Parliament, concurred in all conclusions with the most Violent, with as full a Testimony of that Zeal and Fury, to which their Confidence was applied, as any Man. To Him the Custody and Government of that Fort, and Island, which was looked upon as the Security of the Town, was committed; and a sufficient Garrison put into it. The Mayor Commanded the Castle, and the Town, about which a Line was cast up of Earth, weak, and irregular.

After the Battle of *Stratton*, and the King's Forces prevailing so far over the West, that *Bristol* was taken by them, and *Exeter* closely Besieged, Sir *Alexander Carew* begun to think, his Island and Fort would hardly secure his Estate in *Cornwal*; and understood the Law so well (for he had had a good Education) to know, that the side he had chosen, would be no longer the Better, than it should continue the Stronger; and having originally followed

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Sir Alexander
Carew Treats
to Surrender
the Fort of
Plymouth to
the King's
Forces, but is
surprised

no other Motives, than of Popularity and Interests, resolved now to redeem his Errors; and found means to correspond with some of his old Friends and Neighbours in *Cornwal*, and by them, to make a direct Overture to Surrender that Fort and Island to the King, upon an Assurance of his Majesty's Pardon, and a full remission of his Offences. Sir *John Berkeley*, who then lay before *Exeter*, was the next supreme Officer, qualified to entertain such a Treaty; and He, instantly, by the same Conveyance, returned him as Ample Assurance of his own Conditions as could be; with advice, "that he should not, upon any defect of forms (which, upon his engagement, should be supplied with all possible expedition, to his own satisfaction) defer the consummating the work; which hereafter, possibly, might not be in his power to effect:" designs of that Nature being to be consulted and executed together; for in those cases, according to *Mutianus in Tacitus*, *Qui deliberant, desciverunt*; and the greatest danger attends the not going on. But he was so sottishly, and dangerously wary of his own Security (having neither Courage enough to obey his Conscience, nor Wickedness enough to be prosperous against it) that he would not proceed, till he was sufficiently assured that his Pardon was passed the Great Seal of *England*; before which time, though all imaginable haste was made, by the Treachery of a Servant whom he trusted, his Treaty and Design was discovered to the Mayor, and the rest of the Committee; and, according to the diligence used by that Party, in cases of such concernment, he was suddenly, and without

resistance, surpris'd in his Fort, and carried Prisoner into *Plymouth*; and from thence, by Sea, sent to *London*; where what became of him, will be remembered in it's place. BOOK
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Shortly after this accident, Colonel *Digby* came before the Town; and though the great damage was by this means prevented, yet it cannot be imagined, but the People were in great distraction, with the apprehension of the danger they had escap'd; and those discoveries bring always that Melancholy with them, that Men are not quickly again brought to a confidence in one another. For no Man had, to common understanding, better deserv'd to be trust'd, or given less Argument for Suspicion: And upon such a defection, who could hope to stand free from jealousy? Besides he could not but have had much familiarity with many in the Town, which must subject them to some Suspicion, or, at least, make them suspect that they were suspected; and without doubt, it awakened many to apprehend the immediate hand of God in the Judgment, that he would not suffer a Man to recover the Security, and Comfort of his Allegiance, who had so signally departed from it against the light of his own Conscience; and that a Man, who had been before precipitate against all reason, should perish by considering too much, when precipitation was only reasonable.

The fame of the winning of *Exeter*, by which a Victorious Army was at liberty to visit them, and then the loss of *Mount-Stamford*, which was their only considerable Fortification to the Land, with those other discomposures, wrought a wonderful conster-

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nation amongst them; and made them consider, that if they could hold out; and defend their Town, the Country being all lost, they must lose all their Trade, and so from Merchants become only Soldiers; which was not the condition they contended for. Infomuch as the Mayor himself was not without a propensity to send for a Treaty, upon which the Town might be delivered to the King: and it was by many then believed, that if Prince *Maurice* had then marched from *Exeter* before it, that Treaty would infallibly have ensued. But, when I say it was an error that he did Not, I intend it rather as a Misfortune than a Fault; for his Highness was an utter stranger in those parts; and therefore was not, without great appearance of reason, persuaded first to bend his course to *Dartmouth*; which was looked upon "as an easy work, and a Harbour, which, " being got, would draw a very good Trade: and " that short work being performed, *Plymouth* would " have the less Courage to make resistance; and if " it should, it were much fitter for the Winter, " which was now drawing on (for it was more than " the middle of *September*) " than the other, by " reason of the conveniency of good accommodation " for the Soldiers, near about it; which could not " be had about *Dartmouth*."

Upon these reasons, he marched directly to *Dartmouth*; which, how unfit soever to make a Defence against such an Army, by the disadvantage of Situation, and the want of all those helps which use to make a Garrison confident, he found in no temper and disposition to yield; so that he sat down before it.

And shortly after, there came so violent a Season of Rain, and foul Weather, that very many of his Men, with lying on the ground, fell sick, and died; and more, run away. Yet, after near a Month's Siege, and the loss of many good Men (whereof the same Colonel *Chudleigh*, of whom We spoke before, was one, a Gallant young Gentleman, who received a shot with a Musquet in the Body, of which he died within few days, and was a wonderful loss to the King's Service) it was given up on fair conditions; and then the Prince, having placed a Garrison there, under the Command of Colonel *Seymour*, a Gentleman of principal account and interest in *Devonshire*, lost no more time, but with all convenient expedition, marched to *Plymouth*; which was not now in the State it had been; for the Parliament being quickly informed, how terrible an impression the loss of almost all other Parts of the West, had made upon the Spirits of that People, had before this time sent a recruit of five hundred Men, and a *Scotch* Officer to be Governor; who eased the Mayor of that unequal Charge, and quickly made it evident, that nothing but a peremptory defence was thought of. So the Prince sat down before it with an Army much inferior, after he had joined with Colonel *Digby*, to that with which he had marched from *Exeter* to *Dartmouth*; yet with much confidence to reduce that Town, before the Winter should be over.

Though the King's Success, and good Fortune, had met with a check in the relief of *Glocester*, and the Battle of *Newbury*, yet his condition seemed mightily improved by the whole Summer's Service. For whereas he seemed before confined, upon the

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Prince Maurice sits down before Dartmouth; and takes it.

Sits down before Plymouth too late.

BOOK VII. matter, within *Oxfordshire*, and half *Berkshire*, (which half was lost too upon the loss of *Reading* in the Spring) and the Parties which appeared for him in other Counties, seemed rather sufficient to hinder a general Union against him, than that they were like to reduce them to his devotion; he was now, upon the matter, Master of the whole West; *Cornwal* was his own without a Rival; *Plymouth* was the only place, in all *Devonshire*, unreduced; and those Forces shut within their own Walls: the large, rich County of *Somerset*, with *Bristol*, entirely His: In *Dorsetshire*, the Enemy had only too little fisher-Towns, *Poole* and *Lyme*; all the rest was declared for the King. And in every of these Counties, he had plenty of Harbours and Ports, to supply him with Ammunition, and the Country with Trade. In *Wiltshire* the Enemy had not the least footing, and rather a Town or two in *Hampshire* than any possession of the County; that People being generally undevoted to them: The whole Principality of *Wales*, except a Sea-Town or two in *Pembrokehire*, was at his devotion; and that unfortunately obstinate Town of *Glocester* only kept him from commanding the whole *Severn*. The Parliament was nothing stronger in *Shropshire*, *Cheshire*, and *Lancashire*, than they were in the beginning of the year. And albeit the Marquis of *New-Castle* had been forced to rise as unfortunately from *Hull*, as the King had been from *Glocester*, yet he had still a full power over *Yorkshire*, and a greater in *Nottinghamshire*, and *Lincolnshire*, than the Parliament had. So that he might be thought to be now strong enough to make War; the contrary opinion whereof had been one of the greatest reasons that

there was no Peace. And therefore Many believed, that, what appearance soever there was of obstinacy, the Winter would produce some Overtures of Accommodation; and that all the noise of preparation from *Scotland*, was only to incline the King to the greater condescensions; and that, in truth, they who had pretended the concurrent desire of the People, as the best reason for whatsoever they had proposed, and traduced the King with a purpose of bringing Foreign Forces to awe, and impose upon his own Subjects, would not now have the hardiness to bring in a stronger Nation to invade their Country, and to compel that People, by whose Affections they would be thought to be guided, to submit to Changes they had no mind to receive. And the Arrival of the Count of *Harcourt*, as Extraordinary Ambassador from the Crown of *France*, was looked upon as an expedient to usher in some Treaty, and to remove those ceremonies, and preliminary Propositions, which, by reason of the mutual Declarations, and Protestations against each other, might be thought of greater difficulty, than any real differences between them.

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The Count
of Harcourt
arrives Am-
bassador from
France.

The King himself was not without expectation of notable Effects from this Embassy; for the State of *France* seemed to be much altered from what it was at the beginning of these Troubles. Cardinal *Richelieu*, who, the King well knew, had more than fomented the Troubles both in *England*, and *Scotland*, was now dead; and the King of *France* himself likewise; and those old Ministers of State who had been long in the *Bastile*, or Banished, were now set a liberty, and recalled, and in favor; the Queen-Mother made

B O O K VII. Regent; who professed great personal kindness to the Queen of *England*, and so great a sense of the indignities the King and She suffered, that she seemed sensible, that *France* had contributed too much to them, and to think, that the Interest, as well as Honor of that Crown, was concerned to buoy up the Monarchy of *England*; with intimations, "that the King himself should direct, what way he would be served by that Crown." The first Evidence they gave of meaning as they said, was the revocation of Monsieur *la Ferté Senneterre*, the Ambassador then Resident in *England*; who had contracted a wonderful familiarity with the fiercest Managers of the Parliament, and done the King all imaginable disservice; inasmuch as he had industriously persuaded some *English* Priests, and Jesuits, to engage those of the Romish persuasion, by no means to assist the King; with a full assurance, "that the Parliament would allow them Liberty of Conscience." This Minister his Majesty desired might be recalled; which was not only suddenly done, but a private intimation likewise given to Our Queen, "that She should nominate, what Person was to be employed in his place; who should wholly guide himself by Her Instructions:" and her Majesty was led to make choice of Monsieur *le Comte d'Harcourt*, one of the principal Persons of that Kingdom, being a Prince of the House of *Lorraine*, and so allied to the King, and Grand Escuyer; and had been their late fortunate General in *Catalonia*, where he had given the *Spaniards* the greatest Defeat they had received; which was not thought an unreasonable Qualification in an Ambassador whose business was to mediate a Peace.

His Reception at *London* was with much solemnity, that he might not find there was any absence of Ceremony or State, by the absence of the King; yet when he had a safe Conduct for *Oxford*, his Carriages were stopped at the going out of *London*, and his own Coach, as well as all other places, searched with great and unusual rudeness, upon suspicion that he carried Letters; and though he expostulated the Affront, as a high violation of his Honor, and Privilege, he received no manner of reparation, or the Officer, that did it, any reprehension; which made many believe, that he would have been very keen in the resentment. The King expected that, by this Ambassador, the Crown of *France* would have made a brisk Declaration on his Majesty's behalf; and if the Parliament should not return to their regular Obedience, that they should have found no correspondence, or reception in that Kingdom; and that they would really assist his Majesty, in such a manner as he should propose; which Declaration, he thought, would prove of moment with the City of *London*, in respect of their Trade; but more with the *Scots*, who were understood to have an especial dependence upon *France*.

When the Ambassador returned from his Audience at *Oxford*, where he stayed not many days, he sent a paper to the Earl of *Northumberland*, by which he desired his Lordship, "to impart to the Messieurs of Parliament, that he had made known to their Majesties, the Affectionate desire the King his Master, and the Queen his Mistress, had to contribute all good Offices, in the procurement of Peace, and Tranquillity in this Kingdom; to

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“ which he found the desires of their Majesties well disposed; and therefore he desired to know, whether his Lordship thought the two Houses did correspond in the same intention; if they did, after they should make him understand the Subject that had obliged them to take up Arms, he would interpose to pacify the differences, by such expedients, as should be most conformable to the ancient Laws, and Customs of the Realm.”

After the Earl of *Northumberland* had informed the House of Peers of this representation, it was, at a Conference, imparted to the House of Commons, and an Answer was framed by joint agreement, to be returned by the Earl of *Northumberland* to the Ambassador. In the form of it, they gave him the Title of *Prince of Harcourt*, and *Grand Escuyer of France*; but omitted that of *Extraordinary Ambassador in England*, because it did not appear to the Parliament, by Letters of Credence, or the sight of his Instructions from the King, or Queen Regent of *France*, that he was by them employed Extraordinary Ambassador into *England*.

The Answer itself was, “ that the Lords and Commons in Parliament did, with all due Respects, accept of the Affectionate desires of the King, and Queen-Regent of *France*, to contribute good Offices, towards the procuring a happy Peace; and that, when the said Monsieur *le Prince d'Harcourt* should make any such Propositions to the Parliament, by Authority from their Majesties of *France*, they would give then such an Answer to the same, as might stand with the Interest of both Kingdoms,

“ Kingdoms, and their late solemn League and Covenant.” The Lords proposed, “ that there might be a Committee appointed to Treat with the Ambassador:” But the Commons would by no means consent to it, “ till he should make it manifest, that he had Authority from his Master to Treat with the Parliament;” and withal they declared, “ that if he had, at any time, any thing farther to offer to them, they would not receive it from any particular Member of either House; but that he should apply himself by writing, or otherwise, to the Speaker of either, or both Houses of Parliament; otherwise, they would hold no correspondence with him.” The ground of this resolution was, that they might draw from the Ambassador (which they presumed could not be without the Privy, and Approbation of the King) an Address, and Acknowledgment that they were a Parliament, against the Freedom whereof, and consequently the present Being, his Majesty had, by his late Proclamation, declared. So the Ambassador, after a Journey or two to *Oxford*, and some perfunctory Addresses to the Houses, returned to *France, re infecta*, and without the least expression of dislike, on his Master’s behalf, of their proceedings.

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Returns into
France without
any good
effect to the
King.

Some were scrupulous in believing that *France* really intended to repair the mischief it had done; and observed, that though there were some plausible compliances, in point of Ceremony, with particular Persons, after the death of the former Cardinal; yet, that the main Counsels were carried on upon the Rules and Directions he had left; and that the Car-

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dinal *Mazarin*, a Person who had been of the highest trust with the other, wholly now presided over those Counsels; and considered, how much *France* might imagine it would conduce to their Interest, that the King of *England* should not have all his Subjects in perfect Obedience, lest he might offer to be an Arbitrator of their great differences: I say, these Men believed Count *Harcourt's* Instructions privately were no other, than the last Ambassador's; whom the King had caused to be recalled. And it cannot be denied, that they who were inclined to that jealousy, had arguments enough to increase it.

When this Extraordinary Ambassador was appointed to come for *England*, Mr. *Mountague* was in the Court of *France*, very much trusted by both their Majesties, and by his Quality, and near relation to so great a Trust, his long conversation in that Court, and a singular dexterity in his Nature, adorned with excellent Parts, was thought to have a very good place in the favor, and particular estimation of that Queen-Regent, and in the opinion of the Cardinal; to whom he had been useful. With this Gentleman most of the conclusions had been transacted, which were preparatory to the Ambassador's Journey; and it was thought fit, that He should at the same time come into *England*; and, in such a disguise, as might easily conceal a Man better known in *France* than in his own Country, in the Ambassador's Train find a safe passage to *Oxford*; which was carried with so much secrecy, that, besides to the Ambassador himself, he was known to very few of his Retinue. The Count of *Harcourt* was not Landed four-and-twenty hours, but in his Journey towards *London*, a Mes-

fenger from the Parliament apprehended Mr. *Moun- tague*, and carried him a Prisoner to the Houses; by whom he was committed to the Tower, and though the Ambassador made a great show of resenting it, he never claimed him in such a manner as to procure his Enlargement; which made Men believe, the Cardinal liked well his confinement, and desired not he should be either at *Oxford* or *Paris*. BOOK VII.

At the Ambassador's first coming to *Oxford*, after general Overtures, and Declarations of the resolution of that Crown, "to give his Majesty all possible Assistance for his re-establishment," he proposed a League Offensive and Defensive with the King. His Majesty, that knew well such an Offer was not to be rejected, lest they should from thence take an occasion to refuse those things he should propose, appointed a Committee of his Council (according to the usual Course) to Treat with the Ambassador, upon all necessary Articles, which should attend such a Treaty; declaring an Inclination to enter into such a League as was proposed; and thereupon desired "a present Loan of Money, and a supply of a good proportion of Arms, and Ammunition; and likewise that the Crown of *France* would declare against the Subjects of *England*, and *Scotland*, who should persist in Rebellion; according to an Article ratified in the last Treaty now in force.

The Ambassador, who it seems, expected that there should have been more pauses in the Overture of the League Offensive and Defensive, for the present declined the Treating with the Committee; alledging; "that he was, upon the matter, a Minister

BOOK VII. “ of both their Majesties ; and was to receive Com-
 “ mand from them, and wholly to attend their Ser-
 “ vice; and therefore that he desired wholly to com-
 “ municate with their Majesties themselves:” and
 shortly after waved any further mention of the League,
 with an affected compliment, “ that it would not ap-
 “ pear a generous thing, to press the King to any Act
 “ in this his distress, which he had made scruple of
 “ consenting to heretofore, when the Fortune of
 “ both Crowns were equally Prosperous: but that
 “ his Master and Mistress, would frankly contribute
 “ all that could be reasonably expected from them,
 “ towards his Majesty’s Restoration, and Establish-
 “ ment; and afterward expect such a return of Affec-
 “ tion from his Majesty, as the greatness of the ob-
 “ ligation should merit in his Princely estimation.”
 And at the same time, the Queen-Regent and Car-
 dinal positively denied to the Lord *Goring*, Ambas-
 sador Extraordinary then from his Majesty in *France*,
 that ever the Count of *Harcourt* had any Instruction to
 mention a League Offensive and Defensive. These
 particular carriages, and his not resenting the Indig-
 nities, offered to him by the Parliament, made many
 Men believe, that this Ambassador, notwithstanding
 all the specious professions, was sent rather to foment,
 than extinguish the fire that was kindled. Certain it
 is, during his stay in *England*, he did not, in the least
 degree, advance the King’s Service; and at his return,
 left the Parliament more united amongst themselves
 against the King, and the *Scots* more advanced to-
 wards their coming in, than he found them; there
 being at the same time likewise a *French* Agent in

Scotland; who produced no alteration in the Affections of that People, to the King's Advantage. BOOK VII.

The return of the three Earls, formerly mentioned, to *London* in the Winter, who so solemnly applied themselves to the King in the Spring, contributed exceedingly to the Union of the two Houses at *Westminster*. The other two stayed longer; and retired with much more decency, if not with a tacit permission. But the Earl of *Holland*, when he saw his place in the Bed Chamber conferred upon the Marquis of *Hertford*, in much discontent, found an opportunity, which was not difficult, to remove out of the King's Quarters; and before he was missed at *Oxford*, Intelligence was brought that he had rendered himself to the Parliament at *London*; and to make his return the more conscientious, he declared, as hath been said, "that the ground of his deserting them formerly, and going to the King, was a hope to incline his Majesty to a Treaty of Peace; but that he found he was mistaken in the temper of the *Oxford*-Counsellors; and that the King had still about him some Counsellors, who would never consent to a safe, and well grounded Peace; and that he heard they had persuaded the King, to make a Cessation with the Rebels in *Ireland*; which affected his Conscience so much, that, though he had been sure to have lost his Life by it, he would return to the Parliament;" professing exemplary Fidelity to them, if they would again receive him into their Favor.

It may be, his discourse of *Ireland*, or the King's averseness to Peace, wrought upon very few; but the Evidence of the King's aversion so far to forgive, and

B O O K VII. forget former Trespaffes, as to receive them into Favor and Trust again, made a deep impressi^on upon many. For it is undoubtedly true, that many of the principal and governing Members of both Houses, that is, of them who had governed, and done as much mischief as any, either out of apprehension that the King would prevail, or that They should not prevail soon enough, or the animosity against those who had outgrown their Government, and followed new Leaders of their own, and to other ends than had been originally proposed, or out of some motions of Conscience, were quite weary of the Parliament, and desirous to obtain a fair admission to the King; and looked only upon the footing which those Doves which went first out of the Ark, should find; and surely, if that expedient had been dexterously managed, it had been the most probable way to have drawn the Parliament into such contempt, that it must have fallen of itself: A way, that in no Civil War, which is arrived to any vigor and power of contending, ought to be declined. For a Body, that is not formed by Policy, with any avowed and fixed Principles of Government, but by the distempered Affections, Ambition, and Discontent of particular Persons, who rather agree against a common Adversary, than are united to one just Interest, cannot so easily be dissolved, as by Treating with particular Persons, and rending those Branches from the Trunk, whose beauty and advantage consists only in the spreading.

The reasons were unanswerable, which the old Consul *Fabius* in *Livy*, *Lib. 24.* gave, in the Case of *Cassius Altinius*, who after the Defeat of *Cannæ*, desert-

ed the *Romans* and fled to *Hannibal*, by which he got the City of *Arpos*; and when the Condition of the *Romans* was again recovered and flourishing, came again to the *Roman* Army, and offered to betray that City into their hands. Many were of opinion, "that he should be looked upon as a Common Enemy; and bound, and sent to *Hannibal*, as a perfidious Person, who knew neither how to be a Friend, nor an Enemy." *Fabius* reprehended the unseasonable severity of those who considered, and judged in *medio ardore belli*, *tanquam in pace libera*, and told them, "that their principal care must be, that none of their Friends and allies might forsake them; the next, that they who had forsaken them, might return again into their Obedience, and Protection: For, *si abire à Romanis liceat, redire ad eos non liceat*, it could not be, but the State of *Rome*, from which, in the late misfortunes, many had revolted, must become very desperate.

Such was the King's condition, the Number of the Guilty being so much superior to the Innocent, that the latter could reasonably expect only to be preserved by the conversion and reduction of the former. Neither did the King not foresee, or abhor this expedient; but the temper and spirit of the time was so averse from the Stratagem, that it was evident his present loss would be as great, by practising it, as his future advantage was like to improve by it. Whatsoever damage his Majesty sustained, that unfortunate Earl received no acknowledgment, or encouragement from the other Party, who had the benefit of his return; but as his Estate was sequestered as soon as he left them, so he was now committed to Prison,

B O O R and that sequestration continued; neither was it, in a
 VII. long time after, taken off nor himself ever after admitted to his place in their Council, notwithstanding all the intercession of very powerful Friends, or to any reputation of doing farther good or hurt.

Certainly, there must be thought to be some extraordinary dislike, in the very primary Laws of Nature, of such tergiversation and inconstancy; since we scarce find, in any Story, a Defserter of a Trust, or Party, he once adhered to, to be long prosperous, or in any eminent Estimation with those to whom he resorts; though, in the change, there may appear evident Arguments of reason and justice: neither hath it been in the power, or prerogative of any Authority, to preserve such Men from the reproach, and jealousy, and scandal, that naturally attends upon any Defection: *I have not found evil in thee, since the day of thy coming unto me, unto this day; nevertheless, the Lords favor thee not*, was the profession of King Achish, when he dismissed David himself from marching with the Array of the Philistines; and that expostulation of those Lords, *wherewith should he reconcile himself unto his Master? should it not be with the Hearts of these Men?* will be always an Argument to raise a distrust of those who have eminently quitted their Party, And the judgment of Fabius himself, which We touched before, of Cæsius Alinius, was not much in their favor; for, though he reprehended the Proposition of sending him to Hannibal, yet he concluded, "that he would have no trust reposed in him, but that he should be kept in safe custody, with Liberty to do any thing but go away, till the War was ended; *tum consul-tandum, utrum defectio prior plus merita sit pænæ, an*

2 Sam. 29. 6.

“ *hic reditus veniæ.*” As it falls out thus in Civil Affairs, and the breach of Moral obligations, so it happens in spiritual defection, and alterations in Religion: for as, among the Jews, the Profelytes were civilly and charitably treated, without upbraidings or reproaches; yet it was provided, “ that no Profelyte should be eligible into the Court of their *Sanhedrim*; and in their very conversation, they had a caution of them; *Vel ad decimam usque generationem à Profelytis cave*, was an Aphorism amongst them. And our own observation and experience, can give Us few examples of Men who have changed their Religion, and not fallen into jealousy and distrust, or disreputation, even with those with whom they side; that have made their future life less pleasant, and delightful; which, it may be, happens only because We have rare instances of Men of extraordinary parts, or great minds who have entertained those Conversions.

The Lords and Commons were all now of a mind, and no other contention amongst them, than who should most advance the power which was to suppress the King's: new and stricter Orders were made for the general taking the Covenant; and an Ordinance, “ that no Man should be in any Office, or “ Trust in their Armies, or the Kingdom, or of the “ Common-Council of *London*, or should have a “ Voice in the Election of those Officers, but such “ who had taken the Covenant; nor even they who “ had taken the Covenant, if they had been formerly “ imprisoned, or sequestered for suspicion of Malig- “ nancy, or adhering to the King.” And that they might as well provide for their Sovereign Jurisdiction in Civil matters, as their security in Martial, they

BOOK again resumed the consideration of the Great Seal of
VII. *England*. The Commons had often pressed the House of Peers to concur with them, "in the making a New Great Seal; as the proper Remedy against the mischiefs, which, by the absence of it, had befallen the Commonwealth; declaring, "that the Great Seal of *England*, of right, ought to attend upon the Parliament;" in which the Peers as often refused to join with them, being startled at the Statute of the 25th of *Edw.* the III. by which, the counterfeiting the Great Seal of *England* is, in express terms, declared to be High-Treason; and it had been in all times before understood to be the sole property of the King, and not of the Kingdom, and absolutely in the King's own disposal, where it should be kept, or where it should attend.

The Commons
 Vote a new
 Broad Seal:
 The Lords
 concurred
 with them.

This dissent of the Lords hindered not the business; the Commons frankly Voted, "that a Seal should be provided," and accordingly took Order that one was Engraven, and brought into their House, according to the same Size and Effigies, and nothing differing from that which the King used at *Oxford*. Being in this readiness, and observing the Lords to be less scrupulous than they had been, about the middle of *November* they sent again to them, to let them know, "they had a Great Seal ready, "which should be put into the Custody of such Persons, as the two Houses should appoint, and "if they would name some Peers, a proportionable Number of the other Body should join in the executing that Trust." All objections were now passed over, and without any hesitation their Lordships not only concurred with them to have a Seal

in their own disposal, but in a Declaration and Ordinance; by which they declared, "all Letters-
 "tent, and Grants made by the King, and passed
 "the Great Seal of *England*, after the 22^d of *May* in
 "the year 1642. (which was the day the Lord
 "Keeper left the House, and went with the Great
 "Seal to *York* to the King) to be invalid, and void
 "in Law; and henceforward, that their own Great
 "Seal should be of the like force, power, and va-
 "lidity, to all intents and purposes, as any Great
 "Seal of *England* had been, or ought to be; and that
 "whosoever, after publication of that Ordinance,
 "should pass any thing under any other Great Seal,
 "or should claim any thing thereby, should be held
 "and adjudged a public Enemy to the State."

At the same time, the Earls of *Rutland* and *Bullinbrook*, of the Peers, Mr. *Saint John* (whom they still entitled the King's Solicitor-General, though his Majesty had revoked his Patent, and conferred that Office upon Sir *Thomas Gardner*; who had served him faithfully, and been put out of his Recorder's place of *London*, for having so done) Serjeant *Wilt* (who, being a Serjeant at Law, had with most confidence averred their legal power to make a Seal) Mr. *Brown*, and Mr. *Prideaux*, two private Practisers of the Law, were nominated "to have the keeping,
 "ordering, and disposing of it, and all such, and the
 "like Power and Authority, as any Lord-Chan-
 "cellor, or Lord-Keeper, or Commissioner of the
 "Great-Seal, for the time being, had Had, used, or
 "ought to have." The Earl of *Rutland* was so modest, as to think himself not sufficiently qualified for such a Trust; and therefore excused himself in

B O O K point of Conscience: Whereupon they nominated,
VII. in his Room, the Earl of *Kent*, a Man of far meaner parts, who readily accepted the place.

The Seal then was delivered, in the House of Commons, to their Speaker; and by Him, with much solemnity, the House attending him, to the Speaker of the Peers, at the Bar in that House. The six Commissioners were then, in the presence of both Houses, solemnly sworn "to execute the Office of "Keepers of the Great-Seal of *England*, in all things "according to the Orders, and Directions of both "Houses of Parliament." And thereupon the Seal was delivered by the two Speakers to them, who carried it, according to Order, to the House of the Clerk of the Parliament, in the old Palace; where it was kept locked up in a Chest; which could not be opened but in the presence of three of them, and with three several Keys. This work being over, they appointed, for the first exercise of this kind of Sovereignty, a Patent to be sealed to the Earl of *Warwick*, of Lord High-Admiral of *England*; which was done accordingly; by which many concluded, that the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had been put out of that great Office, for Their sakes, was not restored to their full confidence; others, that he desired not to wear Their Livery.

About the same time, to show that they would be Absolute, and not joint Sharers in the Sovereign Power, they gave an Instance of boldness mingled with cruelty, that made them appear very terrible. The King had published several Proclamations, for the Adjournment of the Term from *London* to *Oxford*, which had been hitherto fruitless, for want of

The Seal
 delivered to
 six Commis-
 sioners.

the necessary Legal form of having the Writs read in Court; so that the Judges at *Oxford*, who were ready to perform their Duty, could not regularly keep the Courts there; which else they would have done, notwithstanding the Order and Declarations published by the two Houses to the contrary; they who were learned in the Law, believing that Assumption to be unquestionably out of their jurisdiction. These Writs of Adjournment had never yet been delivered seasonably, to be read in Court, or into the hands of either of the sworn Judges who yet attended at *Westminster*: of which there were three in Number, Justice *Bacon* in the King's Bench, Justice *Reeve* in the Common-Pleas, and Baron *Trevor* in the Exchequer; who, how timorous soever, and apprehensive of the power and severity of the Parliament, knowing the Law and their Duties, Men believed, would not have barefaced declined the execution of those Commands they were sworn to observe. Several Messengers were therefore sent from *Oxford* with those Writs; and appointed, on, or before such a day (for that circumstance was penal) "to find an opportunity, to deliver the Writs into the hands of the several Judges." Two of them performed their Charges, and delivered the Writs to Justice *Reeve*, and Baron *Trevor*; who immediately caused the Messengers to be apprehended.

The Houses, being informed of it, gave direction, "that they should be tried by a Council of War, as Spies; which was done at *Essex*-House." The Messengers alledged, "that they were sworn Servants to his Majesty for the transaction of those Services, for which they were now accused; and

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“ that they had been legally punishable, if they had refused to do their duties; the Term being to be adjourned by no other way.” Notwithstanding all which, they were both condemned to be hanged as Spies; and that such a Sentence might not be thought to be only *in terrorem*, the two poor Men were, within few days after, carried to the old *Exchange*, where a Gallows was purposely set up; and there one of them, one *Daniel Kniveton*, was without mercy executed; dying with another kind of Courage than could be expected from a Man of such condition and education, did not the Conscience of being Innocent beget a marvellous satisfaction in Any condition. The other, after he had stood some time upon, or under the Gallows; looking for the same conclusion, was reprieved, and sent to *Bridewell*; where he was kept long after, till he made an Escape, and returned again to *Oxford*. This Example begot great terror in all the well affected about *London*, and so much the more, because, about the same time, an Ordinance was made, “ that, whosoever went to *Oxford*, or into any of the King’s Quarters, without leave from one of the Houses, or a Pass from their General, or whosoever had any correspondence with any Person in the King’s Quarters, by writing Letters, or receiving Letters, from thence, should be proceeded against as a Person disaffected to the State; and his Person committed, and his Estate sequestered; and should be liable, according to the circumstances (of which themselves would be only Judges) to be tried as Spies.

Col. Fiennes
tried for sur-

As this made them exceeding terrible to those who loved them not, so, about the same time, they

gave another Instance of Severity, which rendered their Government no less revered amongst their Friends, and Associates. The brave Defence of *Glocester*, and the great Success that attended it, made the loss of *Bristol* the more felt by the Parliament; and consequently the delivery, and yielding it up, the more liberally spoken of, and censured. The which Colonel *Fiennes* having not patience to bear, he desired, being a Member of the House of Commons, and of a swaying Interest there, "that he might be put to give an Account of it, at a Court of War, which was the proper Judicature upon trespasses of that Nature." And in the mean time, he was powerful enough, upon some collateral, and circumstantial passages, to procure some of the Chief who inveighed against him, to be imprisoned, and reprehended. This begot greater Passion and Animosity in the Persons, that thought they suffered unjustly, and only by the Authority, and Interest of the Colonel and his Father; which, by degrees, brought Faction into the House of Commons, and the Army, according to the several Affections and Tempers of Men.

There were but two Prosecutors appeared, one Mr. *Walker*, a Gentleman of *Somerſetſhire*, of a good Fortune, and, by the loss of that, the more provoked; who had been in the Town when it was lost, and had strictly observed all that was done, or said; and the famous Mr. *Pryn*, who had at first let himself into the disquisition of that business, out of the Activity, and restlessness of his Nature, and was afterwards sharpened by contempt. These two, under pretence of Zeal to the Kingdom, and that such an

B O O K
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rendering
Bristol, and
condemned;
but pardoned
by the Ge-
neral.

B O O K VII. irreparable damage to it might not pass away without due punishment, undertook the prosecution; and boldly charged the Colonel with Cowardice, and Treachery; and gave several Instances of great and high professions, and performances faint, and not answerable; with some mixtures of pride, and love of Money, throughout the Course of his Government. Colonel *Fiennes*, besides the credit and reputation of his Father, had a very good stock of estimation in the House of Commons upon his own score; for truly he had very good parts of Learning, and Nature, and was privy to, and a great Manager in, the most secret designs from the beginning; and if he had not incumbered himself with Command in the Army, to which Men thought his Nature not so well disposed, he had sure been second to none in those Councils, after Mr. *Hambden's* death. This made him too much despise those who appeared his Adversaries, and others whom he knew to be such, though they appeared not (for he looked upon Sir *William Waller* as an Enemy, who, by his misfortune at *Roundway-Down*, having brought that storm upon *Bristol*, was industrious to make the second loss to be apprehended only as the effect of the other's want of Courage, and Conduct) and being sure, that he was very free from wishing well to the King, he thought no defect would be farther imputed to him, than might well be answered by the having done his Best; and that the eminency of his perfect Zeal against his Majesty, would weigh down all Objections of disservice to the Parliament.

But notwithstanding all this, after a long and solemn

solemn hearing before the Court of War, at *St. Albans*, where the Earl of *Essex* then lay, which took up many days, he was condemned to lose his head, "for not having defended *Bristol* so well, and so long, as he ought to have done." And though he had afterwards a pardon for his life, granted to him by the Prerogative of the General, under his Hand and Seal, yet the infamy of the judgment could not be taken off; by which he became unfit to continue an Officer of the Army; and the shame of it persuaded him to quit the Kingdom; so that he went for some time into Foreign Parts, retaining still the same full disaffection to the Government of the Church and State, and only grieved that he had a less capacity left to do hurt to either. Many looked upon this Example, as a foundation of great awe, and reverence in the Army, that the Officers might see, that no Titles or Relations should be able to break through the strict discipline of War. For this Gentleman was a Person of singular merit, and fidelity to the Party that he served, and of extraordinary use to them in those Counsels that required the best understandings. Others thought it an Act of unadvised severity, to expose so eminent a Person, who knew all their Intrigues, upon the importunity of useles and inconsiderable Persons, to infamy; whilst others considered it, as a judgment of Heaven upon a Man who had been so forward in promoting the public Calamities; and no doubt, it increased much the Factions and Animosities, both in the Parliament, and the Army; and might have done them farther mischief, if it had not fallen on a Man so thoroughly engaged, that no

B O O K Provocations could make him less of their Party, or
 VII. less concerned in their Confederacy.

At this time, nothing troubled the King so much as the Intelligence he received from *Scotland*, that they had already formed their Army, and resolved to enter *England* in the Winter-season. All his confidence, which he had founded there upon the Faith, and most solemn Professions of particular Men, without whom the Nation could not have been corrupted, had deceived him to a Man: and he found the same Men most engaged against him, who had, with most solemnity, vowed all obedience to him. The circumstance of the time made the danger of the Invasion the more formidable; for the Earl of *New-Castle*, lately created a Marquis, had been compelled with his Army, as much by the murmurs and indisposition of the Officers, as by the Season of the Year, to quit his design upon *Hull*, and to retire to *York*; and the Garrison of *Hull* had made many strong inroads into the Country, and Defeated some of his Troops; so that the *Scots* were like to find a strong Party in that large County. However, the Marquis sent a good Body of Horse towards the Borders, to wait their motion; and no sooner heard of their march, which begun in *January*, in a great Frost and Snow, than himself marched into the Bishopric of *Durham* to attend them. The particulars of all that Affair, and the whole Transaction of the Northern-parts, where the Writer of this History was never present, nor had any part in those Counsels, are fit for a relation apart; which a more proper Person will employ himself in.

END OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.

The Scots
 enter England,
 in Jan. 1643.

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